



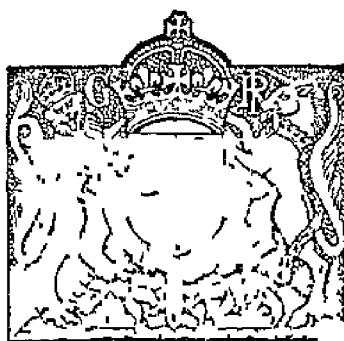
MEMOIRS OF THE  
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

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No. 23

THE HAIHAYAS OF TRIPURI AND  
THEIR MONUMENTS.

BY  
R D BANERJI





## PREFACE

The idea of writing out the *chronology of the Harbaja kings of Tripuri* was suggested to me in May 1919 by Major B. D. Basu I.M.S. (Retired) of Allahabad at present the Head of the Panini Office and the Editor of the Series of Sanskrit Texts published by that Institution. Major Basu pointed out to me that practically no investigations had been carried out in the whole of the Rewa State since the retirement of Sir Alexander Cunningham. Acting on the suggestion I applied to the late Mr. P. B. Warburton I.C.S. then Political Agent Baghelkhand Agency, and with his help succeeded in revising and exploring all the important Archaeological sites in the Rewa State situated in the northern and southern Parganas. I found it impossible to visit the antiquities in the forest covered tracts lying to the east of this State, but I am deeply grateful for the help received from Mr. P. B. Warburton and his successor in the Baghelkhand Political Agency, Major E. J. Colvin I.A. In the Rewa State my programme was mapped out for me by Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad, M.A. LL.B. who had served for a long time under the late Maharaja Venkata Ramana Singh Bahadur, as his Private Secretary and who was working as Home Member of the Council of Regency of the Rewa State in 1920. Pandit Janaki Prasad's intimate knowledge of the State is unrivalled and with his help I was able to discover three unknown dated inscriptions of the Harbaja chiefs which have helped materially in the construction of the chronology of that dynasty. I am also very greatly indebted to Rai Bahadur B. N. Zutshi, President of the Council of Regency of the Rewa State in April 1920 for help in various directions connected with my investigations. Finally I am indebted to Sir John Marshall Kt. C.I.E. Litt. D. F.S.A., for permission to reproduce the text of four of the unpublished inscriptions which are being published in the *Epigraphia Indica* separately.

Pooxa

R. D. BANERJEE

4th December, 1922





## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

I	Temple of Śiva at Chandreh	front and back
II	Śaiva Monastery at Chandreh	front and side
III	Do	Door ways of shrines
IV	Do	(a) Gargoyle
	Do	(b) Doorway of shrine
V	(a) Wall of Rajura fort formerly Śaiva Monastery Gurgi	
	(b) Gurgaj mound ruins of temple of Śiva built by Yuvrajya I	
VI	Temple of Śiva at Misau front and back	
VII	Bilhari (a) Lakshmanagar Tank (b) Temple of Kāmikandala	
VIII	Temple of Kāmikandala Bilhari (a) Mandapa, (b) Carbhagriha	
IX	(a) Temple of Śiva Bargau general view	
	(b) Do pillars of Mandapa	
X	Temple of Viratesvara Sohagpur side and front	
XI	Do	(a) Interior of Mandapa (b) Dado of Ardhamandapa
XII	Do	Back portion of Carbhagriha
XIII	Tripled shrined temple of Kurnu Amarkantak	
XIV	Do	(a) Doorway of one of the temples (b) Back of one of the temples
XV	Temples at Keśavarayan and Machchhendranatha Amarkantak	
XVI	Amarkantak (a) Temple of Patalesvara (b) back view of the temple of Machchhendranatha	
XVII	Khajuraho (a) Temple of Devī (b) Temple of Citragupta	
XVIII	(a) Temple of Somanatha Bargau	
	(b) Temple of Vaidyanatha Baijnath	
XIX	Ruins of temples Karanbel	
XX	(a) Temple of Śiva Marai	
	(b) Pillar in ruins of Mandapa Karanbel	
XXI	(a) Temple of Viṣṇu Varka Bilhari	
	(b) Stopped well Tower	
XXII	Circular temple of Sixty four Yoginis Bheraghat (a) Before repairs (b) After repairs	
XXIII	(a) Temple of Vaidyanatha Bheraghat	
	(b) Temple of Brahma Khajuraho	
XXIV	Deotilao (a) Temple of Śiva (b) Temple of Somanatha	
XXV	Torana of temple of Śiva at Gurg front	
XXVI	Do	back
XXVII	Images on Gurgaj mound Gurgi (a) Uma Mahesvara (b) Uma	
XXVIII	(a) Pillar with the inscription of Samkragana from Chhoti Deori	
	(b) Narasimha from Maiora	

- XXIX Images from the circular temple of the Sixty four Yoginis at Bheraghat (a) Dancing goddess (b) Vāśhnavī
- XXX Ditto Teramvā Jahnavī
- XXXI Ditto Phanendri
- XXXII Ditto Ranajira Sarvvato  
mukhā Ekaḡḡ  
Virendr Thakurī
- XXXIII Ditto (c) Female figure,  
(b) Bodhisattva
- XXXIV (a) Gaurā in the temple of Gaurānārā Bheraghat  
(b) Bas relief at Tewar
- XXXV Tewar (c) Andhakavādha etc (b) Karttikeya
- XXXVI Bodhisattva (?) Tewar
- XXXVII (a) Suryanarayana Masaun  
(b) Vardhā Bihari
- XXXVIII Pillars with bas reliefs on drum of tank Marā
- XXXIX (a) Isak at Silchat near Gurg  
(b) Lintel of temple Būrgam
- XL Images from the Thakur's palace, Sohagpur  
(c) Garuḡa (b) Viṣṇu
- XLI Do Jaina Śāsanadevis
- XLII Do (a) Śeṣhaśayin (b) Bas relief of Krishnacharitra
- XLIII Do Unknown bas relief
- XLIV Do Unknown bas relief
- XLV (c) Gateway of the Thakur's palace Sohagpur  
(b) Śeṣhasayin from Marā
- XLVI (a) Revantī from Munora  
(b) Fragment from the back slab of a Jaina image Jura
- XLVII (a) Śivā Durgā from Marā  
(b) Ganeśa from Amarpatan
- XLVIII (c) Śivā Durgā from Sohagpur  
(b) Jaina image Cursetjee's Bungalow Jubbulpore
- XLIX Amarkantak (a) Statues of Nārāyaṇa and Sagarī (b) Image of Viṣṇu in temple of Keśava Narāyaṇa
- L Images from Dāldua (a) Viṣṇu, (b) Śivā-Durgā
- LI Amarlantal (c) Elephant-rider (b) Horseman
- LII (a) Image of Nārāyaṇa Amarkantak  
(b) Jain image from Bihuriband
- LIII (a) Inscription of Queen Gosālā on right jamb of door of the temple of Gaurāsankarā, Bheraghat  
(b) Fire altar on Lal Pahar hill
- LIV (a) Plan of temple of Śivā at Gurgā Masaun  
(b) Plan of Śaiva Monastery at Chandrehe
- LV (a) Plan of the temple of Virāṭeśvara Śivā Sohagpur  
(b) Plan of the Triple shroed temple of Kārṇa Amarkantal
- LVI (a) Plan of the temple of Maheśhēndranathā Amarkantal  
(b) Plan of the temple of Patakeśvara Amarlantal
- LVII Plan of the circular temple of Sixty four Yoginis and Gaurānārā at Bheraghat

# THE HAIHAYAS OF TRIPURI AND THEIR MONUMENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

### Chronology

IN the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian Era a chief named Kōkkalla or Kol-kala, founded a powerful kingdom in the eastern part of Central India in a country which had been formerly ruled over by the Vākṭakas the Parivrajaka chiefs and the chiefs of Uchchhilaṭṭa, after the decline and the fall of the Guptas. The earliest notice of this prince is to be found, not in the inscriptions of his sons or grandsons but in those of the descendants of his son-in-law Krishnaraja II of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mavakḥṭa. It is stated in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, the great grandson of Krishnarāja II, that Akilavarsha (Krishna II) married "the daughter of Kōkkalla the ornament of the dynasty of Sabastarājuna (V 13) who became his chief queen and from whom was born Jagattunga (V 14). In the next verse it is stated that 'from the ocean (viz) Rinavagrīha son of Kōklala who was grave (as the ocean is profound) who was a receptacle of gems (or of excellences) (as the ocean is a store house of gems) who was capable of protecting kings from (their) foes (as the ocean is capable of sheltering mountains from their adversary viz Indra), there was born (a daughter named) Lalāsmī (as from the ocean spring up the goddess of wealth) (V 15)

"She became the wife of that king who had no enemy (and) who was possessor of the ornament (consisting of) fame acquired by Arjuna who had a terrific army (as) *Ajatasatru*, i.e. Yuddhisthira was adorned by ornament (which was) fame earned by Bhīmasena or Arjuna (V 16)

"From king Jagattunga there was born a victorious prince son of Lakshmi endowed with valour (as) from the eastern mountain the highest in the world, there rises the sun full of heat (V 17)

"Truly he was Indrārāja whose arm was thrust forth for the destruction of the partizans of all kings swerving from lawful conduct (and) who was fit to be seen with untwinkling eyes, (as the god Indra) discharged his thunderbolt

to cut off the wings of all mountains swerving from their motionless condition (and) is fit to be seen by *(the gods whose eyes)* do not twinkle (V 18)

That Kokkalla who was mentioned *(as belonging)* to that family of the illustrious Hahayas who brought down the pride of Dasalantha (Ravana) had a son named Arjuna pre eminent in virtue His (Arjuna's) son who was exceedingly strong was Ammanadeva From him was born Vijambā as Lakshmi *(was produced)* from the ocean and Uma from the lord of the mountains called Himavat (V 20)

To the glorious king India was born by that Vijambā a son the prince named Govindaraja the beauty of whose form excelled that of Kuna<sup>1</sup>

Further it is known from the Khadda plates of Kalkaraja II of the Saka year 894 that Jagatunga the son of Krishnaraja II married two daughters of his maternal uncle Snakaragana named Lalshmi and Govindamba From Lakshmi was born India III who succeeded his grandfather Krishna II and from Govindamba was born Amoghavarsha III who came to the throne after his nephew Govinda IV the son and successor of India III Amoghavarsha III married Kundakadevi a daughter of Sivarajadeva I the grandson of Kokkalladeva I who had succeeded to the Chedi throne after his father Mughdhatunga Prasadhadlava

Thus three kings of the Rashtrakuta dynasty of Manyakheta married the daughters of the Chedi kings of Dahala and the later Rashtrakuta princes were all descended from Kokkalla I on their mothers side The earliest inscriptions of the Chedi dynasty which contain references to the founder Kokkalla I are the Bilhari inscriptions of the rulers of Chedi and the Benares plates of Karna From the Bilhari inscription which gives a detailed account of the origin of the dynasty which ruled the eastern part of Central India for four hundred years it is known that the Hahayas were descended from the moon (V 7)<sup>2</sup>

In the 8th and 9th verses there is a mention of Sahasrarjuna who was born in the same family After Sahasrarjuna the first prince mentioned is Kokkalladeva Six verses are devoted to him in this long inscription out of which four have no historical value In the 16th verse it is stated 'And when the elephants of his army while he occupied the slopes of the Vindhya excited with rut were breaking *(the trees)* the forest with its swarms of birds unmelodiously clurping cried out as if with pain

Having conquered the whole earth he set up two unprecedented columns of his fame in the quarter of the pitcherborn (Agastya) that well known Krishnaraja and in the quarter of Kuvera Bhojadeva a store of fortune (V 17)

Four verses are devoted to Kokkalladeva in the Benares grant of Karna in which it is stated that he was born in the Hahaya lineage (V 5) that he protected Bhoja Vallabha Sri Harsha the king of Chitrakūta and Senkarigana (V 7) and that he married the princess Nattu of the Chandella family (V 8) The late Professor Kielhorn while editing the Benares plates of Karna

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica vol. II pp 45 46

<sup>2</sup> Ibid vol II p 255

made the following remarks about verse 7. According to verse 7 the hand of this prince Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja Vallabharaja the illustrious Harsha who is described as the sovereign of the Chitrakuta and to the king Samkaragana. It does not seem difficult to identify these four contemporaries of Kokkalla. From verse 17 of the Bilhar inscription we know that Kokkalla having conquered the whole earth set up two unprecedented columns of his fame—in the south the well known Krishnaraja and in the north Bhoja deva and in commenting on that passage I have already adopted Sir A. Cunningham's suggestion that the former of these sovereigns can only have been the Rashtrakuta Krishna II who married a daughter of Kokkalla the king of Chedi and who reigned from A.D. 879 to about A.D. 911 and the latter Bhojadeva of Kanauj for whom we have the dates A.D. 869, 876 and 882. Now Krishna II also bore the name of Krishnavallabha and it is therefore clear that the Bhoja and Vallabharaja of the present inscriptions are the Bhojadeva and Krishnaraja of the Bilhar inscription. The proper identification of the illustrious Harsha is suggested both by the circumstance that he is called the sovereign of Chitrakuta and by the fact to be mentioned below that Kokkalla's wife was a Chandella princess for as Chitrakuta is a well known locality of Bundelkhand which was ruled over by the Chandellas Harsha must be the Chandella Harshadeva the successor of Rahula and predecessor of Yasovarman. It is true we have no absolutely certain date for the reign of Harshadeva but since he apparently had dealings with Kalatipaladeva of Kanauj for whom we have the date A.D. 911 and as his grandson Dhingadeva was on the throne in A.D. 954 he undoubtedly must have ruled about A.D. 900 and must certainly have been a contemporary of Krishnavallabha. Lastly the Samkaragana of our inscription I believe to be Kokkalla's own son (also called Ranaviraha) whose daughter Lalshmi was married to Krishnavallabha's son Jagattunga. One of the Ratnapura inscriptions tells us that the Chedi ruler Kokkalla had eighteen sons of whom the first born was ruler of Tripuri while the others became lords of *mandalas* and it does not seem at all improbable that Kokkalla already during his life time may have assigned part of his dominions to Samkaragana one of his younger sons to be governed by him independently. With all these coincidences I can only endorse the conclusion arrived at by Sir A. Cunningham that the reign of Kokkalla who as we shall see below was Kokkalla I may be fixed with certainty at the period between 860 and 900 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The opinion expressed by Dr. Kielhorn in 1894 is liable to certain modifications in the light of discoveries made during the last quarter of a century. In the first place the known dates of Amoghavarsha I range from 817 to 877 A.D. while those of his son Krishnaraja II also known as Alahavarsha Subhanga range from 902 to 911 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Thus there is a long gap between the known dates of the father and the son. This gap is rather unusual in the first part of the rule of the Pratiharas when their power was

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. II pp. 300-01  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol. VIII pp. 11 p. 2

in the ascendant in the Deccan and shows that there were internal troubles or quarrels about the succession after the death of Amoghavarsha I. It was probably about this time that Kokkalladeva I assisted Krishnaraja II, who had already become or subsequently become the former's son-in-law. It is not possible yet to express any opinion as to how Kokkalla founded his own kingdom in the north. But very probably he assisted Krishnaraja to ascend his father's throne when he had acquired a principality for himself. The genealogical table given below shows the intimate relationship which subsisted between the Hahayas of the Chedi Country and the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta.<sup>1</sup>

The next point of importance is the connection between the Chedhs and the Gurjara-Pratihars of Kanauj or Mahodaya. The disputes about the chronology of this dynasty of kings have been settled during the last two decades by recent discoveries and the best account is to be found in a long paper by the late Dr V. A. Smith.<sup>2</sup> It is now impossible to admit that the Bhoja whom Kokkalla planted in the north as a pillar of victory was Bhoja I grandson of Nagabhatta II. The certain dates of Bhoja I range from 836-882 A.D. and the late Dr V. A. Smith assigned an approximate reign of fifty years (840-890 A.D.) to this prince. It is also known now that Bhoja I had his capital at Kanauj where it was removed from Bilhamla (modern Bhimil) in the desert country. It is therefore next to impossible to admit that Bhoja I was assisted to the throne by Kokkalladeva I. Bhoja I was succeeded on the throne by his son Mahendrapala I in whose time the eastern limit of the Gurjara empire extended as far as the heart of Bengal.<sup>3</sup> After his death he was succeeded by his son Bhoja II whose existence is proved by his mention in the grant of Vinayalapa issued in V. S. 988=931 A.D.<sup>4</sup> In this grant it is stated that Bhoja II was the half brother of his successor Mahipala I. Mr. V. A. Smith assigns a very short reign to this prince (908-10 A.D.). It is therefore evident that Bhoja II of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty of Kanauj was a contemporary of Krishna II of the Rashtrakuta dynasty of Manyakheta. Most probably there was a struggle for the succession after the death of Mahendrapala I when Kokkalla I succeeded in raising Bhoja II to the throne by crushing the opposition.

Of the other princes mentioned in the Benares plates of Karunadeva Harshadeva is no doubt the Chandella Harshadeva the ruler of the country around the Chitrakuta Mountain who was related by marriage to Kokkalla I. Dr. Kielhorn identified Samkaraguna with Kokkalla's son of the same name which is not convincing in the absence of any other proof. A chief named Samkaraguna is mentioned in an unpublished Buddhist inscription of the tenth century A.D. discovered at Kasra in the Gorakhpur District and now in

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A p. 116 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1900 pp. 53-76, 247-87.

<sup>3</sup> *Report of the Patna Museum for 1910-11* Ann. P. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

the Lucknow Museum<sup>1</sup> and this chief appears to be the same person as that to whom Kokkalla I extended the hand of protection.

The real cause for which Krishnaraja II required the assistance of Kokkalla deva appears to have been his wars with the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakūtas of Gujarat. We learn from the Ideru plates of Vishnuvarddhana VI that Vijayaditya III surnamed Gunala who at the instigation of the Lord of the Rattas after conquering the king of the Ganga countries who was famous for his unequalled array of elephants, cut off the head of Mangi in battle and thus obtained honour by the great prowess.

After leading away the terrified and the afflicted he the Lord, totally burnt his enemy's city. The translation does not contain the name of the enemy but the text specially mentions Krishna<sup>2</sup>. Commenting on this passage Dr Fleet stated 'L tells us that "challenged by the Lord of the Rattas, he conquered the unequalled Gangas cut off the head of Mangi in battle and frightened the firebrand Krishna and completely burnt his city." The killing of Mangi and the burning of the city of Krishna are also spoken of in M<sup>4</sup>. M<sup>5</sup> is a grant of Vishnuvardhana VII, surnamed Chalukyabhūma II, discovered at Paganavaram in the Madras Presidency. In this grant Vijayaditya is stated as one who was famous for the killing of Mangi and the burning of a place called Kiranapura. According to Dr Fleet Kiranapura is a mistake for Krishnapura<sup>6</sup>. The Krishna in question must be the Rashtrahuta king and the city must be Malkhed. There seems to be another reference to him in U

U is another grant of Vijayaditya VI surnamed Anura II<sup>7</sup> which states that King Vallabha did honour to the arms of Vijayaditya III. And it is probable in connection with some earlier event of this reign involving on this occasion a defeat of the Eastern Chalukyas that we must understand the statement in the Sirur inscription that worship was done to the Rashtrahuta Amoghavarsha III by the Lord of Vengi<sup>8</sup>. According to the Ideru plates Krishnaraja himself was frightened and his city burnt by the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya III. According to the 13th verse of the Cambay plates of Govinda IV

the enemies of Amoghavarsha harassed by his prowess abandoned their shields (*Khataka*) and their swords along with the leaders of their circles. The editor of the Cambay plates wrongly identifies *Khatika* with *Manjahlata*.

After Amoghavarsha J the throne was occupied by his son Amoghavarsha (Krishna II) of whom verse 13 says that his enemies abandoned the city of *Khatika* which in my opinion is here meant to denote *Manjahlata* itself the capital of the Rashtrahuta prince. There is no authority for Dr Bhandarkar's identification of this *Khatika* with *Manjahlata* the capital of the Rashtrakutas. *Khatika* is very well known to be the modern Kara and has been

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. XVIII pp. 103-07

<sup>2</sup> In the Ganga inscription Vol. XIII p. 63

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 51

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Vol. XX p. 102

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Vol. XIII p. 12

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. Vol. XX p. 100-101

<sup>7</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. III p. 15

<sup>8</sup> Indian Antiquary Vol. XI pp. 19-21



mentioned in several copper plates of the Kings of Valabhi —(1) Lumbini plates of Siladitya III G. E. 350<sup>1</sup> and the (2) Gondal plates of Siladitya V issued from Khatala<sup>2</sup>. We find the word Khatala also in the Nimsam plates of Karkaraja of Sala 738<sup>3</sup> the Baroda plates of Dhruvarya I of the Salva year 751<sup>4</sup> and the Cambay plates. The editor of the Cambay plates of Comarda IV understood the difficulty of the identification proposed by him and in a foot-note he states. Verse 13 is also susceptible of another interpretation. Khatala may be taken to denote the modern Kaira and the term *mandala* to refer to the surrounding district. If so the verse must be understood as containing an allusion to Krishna II's having supplanted the subordinate branch of the Rashtrakuta dynasty reigning at Khatala. But the word *pariyakta* implies that Khatala before it was occupied by his enemies was under the sway of Krishna II and that when it was so occupied he by his prowess compelled those enemies to evacuate it. But the Rashtrakutas of the subordinate branch did not occupy Khatala and the surrounding district at any time during Krishna II's reign but were ruling over it long before him. Again the word *ahita* as applied to these tributary Rashtrakutas does not seem to be appropriate. They are referred to as *Sukhla Rashtrakutas* when their rebellion against Amoghavarsha I is mentioned (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII p. 183 and Vol. XII p. 199). Again they are spoken of as *bandhavas* when their disaffection towards the Gujarat Rashtrakuta prince Dhruva II is alluded to (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 184). But in no case is the word *ahita* or its synonyms used to denote them. For these reasons the second interpretation does not commend itself to me as easily as the first suggested in the text. The latter is much more probable because we know that Maynali was once occupied during Krishna II's life time by the Eastern Chalukyas who can with propriety be called his *ahitas* inasmuch as they were the mortal enemies of the Rashtrakuta dynasty<sup>5</sup>. The subtle arguments adduced by the editor of the Cambay plates are absolutely unnecessary. It is immaterial to consider whether Khatala was being ruled by the Rashtrakutas of the subordinate branch for a long time before Krishna II or not. The word *pariyakta* simply denotes that they were obliged to evacuate this city during the reign of Krishna II. The word *ahita* may be applied indiscriminately to all mortal enemies and an agnate may be a more bitter enemy than the non agnate. It is certain that Prof. Bhandarkar has not produced any reliable evidence in support of his proposal to identify the Khatala mentioned in the Cambay plates with Maynali and therefore the proposed identification may be rejected. The Rashtrakutas of Gujarat had rebelled against Amoghavarsha I the father of Krishna II and it is evident that the trouble with the subordinate branch of the family continued right up to the time of Krishna II. Sometime during this reign these Rashtrakutas of the subordinate branch were compelled to evacuate Khatala.

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV p. 76

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XI p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Vol. XX p. 135

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant. query Vol. XII p. 197

<sup>5</sup> Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VII p. 39, note 3

the modern Kaira by Krishna II. There is therefore clear evidence of two distinct wars during the reign of Krishna II. One of these is the war during which the Eastern Chalukya King Vijayaditya III advanced so far west as Manyakheta and burnt it. It is even now uncertain whether the city burnt was Manyakheta itself or some other town named Harinapura. The late Prof Kretschmer was inclined to support the latter view. The statement in the Ideru plates however seems to indicate that the city burnt by Vijayaditya III was the capital of Krishna. Kokkalla I of the Chedi dynasty must have come and supported his son-in-law during these troublesome times when he was at war both on the northern and southern frontiers of his kingdom. The long interval between the known dates of Amoghavarsha I (81-77 A.D.) and those of the son Krishnaraja II (902-11 A.D.) indicates a troublesome period when the Rashtrakuta King was at war with his neighbours. We do not know anything about the relationship of Bhoja II of Kanauj with Kokkalla I but most probably he was also a son-in-law of the Chedi King. Nothing is known about the extent of either the reign or the dominions of Kokkalla I. He is not referred to in recently discovered inscriptions of the Chedi dynasty such as the Goharwa plates of Kannadeva<sup>1</sup> in which the genealogy begins from Lalshmanaraja the great-grandson of Kokkalla I or in the Khaurha plates of Yasah Kannadeva<sup>2</sup> where the genealogy begins from Yuvaraja II son of Lalshmanaraja.

The Benares plates of Kannadeva state that Kokkalla I married Nattadeva of the Chandella lineage (V 8). He was succeeded by his son who is named Prasadhdhaval in the 10th verse of the Benares plates. The same personage is called Mugdhatunga in the Bilhar inscription. From him then was born Mugdhatunga than whom nobody is more exalted in the three worlds and who, desirous of conquering the quarters when he had overthrown the enemies what country did he not make his own? (V 18). Six verses are devoted to him in the Bilhar inscription out of which the last two convey some important historical details about this prince. To Malaya his thoughts wandered because it is there that the waves of the sea are playing because it is there that wind is blowing which causes the Kerala women to sport because there the serpent is stealing the fragrance of the tree<sup>3</sup> (V 22)<sup>4</sup>. Now it is a far cry from the Chedi country to Malaya. Evidently Mugdhatunga Prasadhdhaval had taken part in some of the southern expeditions of his brother-in-law Krishna II. The long wars of Krishna II with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi are well known and reference has already been made to the burning of the capital of the Rashtrakutas by Vijayaditya III. After Vijayaditya III Krishna II overran the country. He the assailant of the universe Sri Vijayaditya reigned over the country of Vengi for forty-four years. After that the Province of Vengi was overrun by the army of the Ratta Chumbants as if by dense darkness on the setting of the sun<sup>5</sup>. The war evidently continued for a long

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XI p. 137-40

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XII pp. 265-7

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I p. 265

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XII p. 221

time as after the Rashtrakuta occupation of Vengi Vijayaditya III's successor Chalukyabhima I claimed to have conquered Krishna Vallabha i.e., the Rashtrakuta Krishna II. The details of the actual war in the Malaya Country or the name of the prince with whom it was fought are not known to us yet.

The next point of interest in the Bilhari inscription is the conquest of a place named Pali from the king of Kosala. Having conquered the lines of country by the shore of the eastern sea and having taken Pali from the lord of Kosala having uprooted the dwellings of enemies one after another, he was a most splendid master of the sword (V 23).<sup>2</sup> This village, Pali is evidently the same as the modern village of this name, 27 miles from Bilaspur in the Central Provinces. The lord of Kosala mentioned in this case appears to have been one of the Somavamsi kings of Mahalokala or Southern Kosala who are also called the Guptas of Mahalokala. An inscription of the other branch of the Chedis or Hahayas of Ratnapura mentions that Kokkalla I had eighteen sons of whom one was made the lord of the Kosala mandala. In the race of these Hahaya Princes was born a ruler of Chedi the illustrious Kokkalla an image of the god of love whence all derived delight by whom (being) on earth in order to measure his own fame how much it might be this— of (?) Tritasaurya was sent up high into the universe (V 4). He had eighteen sons who destroyed the enemies as lions do elephants (and) who increased. The first born son among them afterwards was ruler of Tripuri and he made the remaining brothers lords of Mandalas (V 5). It may thus be seen that the Ratnapur inscription of Jajalladeva I corroborates the statement of the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chedi because in the next verse it is stated that Kalingaraja a descendant of one of the younger brothers of Mugdhatunga Prasiddhadhavalaka conquered southern Kosala. The race of one among these younger brothers in the course of time obtained an unequalled son Kalingaraja a tree of prowess grown large by the water of the eyes of the wonders of his enemies who in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms this country Dakshina Kosala.

Nothing else is known about the eldest son of Kokkalla I who evidently is Mugdhatunga Prasiddhadhavalaka. He was succeeded by his son Balaharsha about whom also nothing is known from any other inscription except the Benares copper plates of Karmadeva. All other inscriptions including the Bilhari inscription omit his name. In the Benares plates he is described only in one verse in which it is stated that he became a king leaving no doubt therefore, as to the fact that he had succeeded his father on the throne. Balaharsha was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvrajadeva I about whom the following facts can be gleaned from the Bilhari inscription — From him was born that

There  
was a  
Kad.

<sup>2</sup> Ratnapur inscription of Jajalladeva I. Epigraphia Indica Vol. I pp. 34-37

observer of prudent behaviour, Keyuravarsha who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauda who was a deer to sport on those pleasure hills—the breasts of the damsels of Karnata (and) ornamented the foreheads of the women of Lita who engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kasmu (and) was fond of the charming songs of the women of Kahinga (V 24) Up to Kailas the intensely hirsute friend of Puvatis play and up to the noble eastern mountain over which the sun shines forth near the bridge of the waters and as far as the western sea too the valour of his arms brought endless anguish on hostile people<sup>1</sup> A Khajuraho inscription mentions the fact that Yasovarman once defeated the Chedis She bore to him that frontal ornament of princely families the illustrious king Yasovarman who was a sword to (cut down) the Gaudas as if they were pleasure creepers equalled the force of the Khasas (and) carried off the treasure of the Kosalas before whom perished the Kasmira warriors who weakened the Mithilas, (and) was as it were a god of death to the Malvas who brought distress on the shameful Chēdis who was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees (and) a scorching fire to the Gurjaras<sup>2</sup> (V 29) This conflict between Yasovarman and his relations the Chēdis may have taken place at the time of the succession to the throne of Yuvarajadeva I There is no doubt about the fact that Yuvarajadeva himself was a powerful prince who had carried the Chedi arms to other countries He had moreover fortified himself by marrying his daughter to Amoghavarsha III of the Rashtrakuta dynasty of the Deccan Vyoma a daughter of his cousin Ammanadeva, who was a son of Arjuna one of the younger sons of Kollala I had married Indra III, the grandson of Krishnaraja II who himself was born of a grand daughter of Kollala I The marriage of the daughter of Yuvarajadeva I Kundaladevi is mentioned in the Khajuraho plates of Kakkaraja II of the Śaka year 894<sup>3</sup>

With the exception of the synchronism between Yuvarajadeva I and his son-in-law Amoghavarsha III no certain dates of the former have been discovered yet Now Amoghavarsha III was a grandson of Krishnaraja II and therefore a younger brother of Indraraja III He succeeded his nephew Govindaraja IV whose certain dates range from 918 to 933 A.D. For Amoghavarsha III himself there are two certain dates 937 and 939 A.D. It may therefore safely be admitted that Yuvarajadeva I came to the throne in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. His first war was with the Gaudas i.e. with the Pālas of Bengal About this time the Pala kingdom or what was left of the empire of Dharmapala was in the hands of the weak successors of Dharmapala namely Rajyapala Gopala II and Virghapala II Most probably Gopala II was a contemporary of Yuvaraja I A reference to Yuvarajadeva I's war in the Gauda country is to be found in the Gurgi inscription of the Śiva abbot Prabodhasiva where 'aquatic jewels and water forts of the Gauda country are mentioned The war in the Karmatik country referred to probably took place when Amoghavarsha III the son-in-law of Yuvaraja I succeeded his

<sup>1</sup> Khajuraho inscription of V S 1011 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I p. 126-127

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII p. 76

nephew Govindaraja II. The reference to the Yavariyad wars in Lūta i.e. Gujrat and in Kashmir are more vague. It cannot be determined as yet who held Gujrat at this time. Most probably it was held by a subordinate branch of the Rashtrakuta family but no inscriptions of this collateral branch dated in the first half of the tenth century A.D. have been discovered. In Kashmir the kings who reigned in the second quarter of the tenth century are Chakravarman (923-33 A.D.) Suravarman I (933-934) Sambhavaradhan (935-36 A.D.) Chakravarman (936-37 A.D.) Unnattavanti (937-39 A.D.) Suravarman II (939 A.D.) and Yasaskara (939-48 A.D.). But the Rajatarangini does not mention any war during this period with the rulers of the Chach country.<sup>1</sup>

During this period Central India was convulsed by the wars between the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta and the Gurjara Pratiharas of Kanauj. It is stated in the Cambay plates of his son Govinda IV that Indra III occupied Ujjayini, crossed the river Yamuna and devastated the city of Mahodaya i.e. Kanauj. The courtyard (of the temple of the god) Kulapriya (became) uneven by the strokes of the tusks of his rutting elephants. His steeds crossed the unfathomable Yamuna which rivals the sea. He completely devastated that hostile city of Mahodaya (also the highly prosperous city of his enemy) which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name of Kusasthala (also a spot of mere Kusa grass). (V 19). This statement in the Cambay plates of Govinda IV is not an empty boast about Indra III as Narasimha a feudatory of Indra III pursued the Gurjara king Mahipala I who was no other than Mahipala, the son of Mahendrapala as far as the confluence of the Ganges. According to the *Kannalaka-Saddanūśāsana* by Bhatta Kalankadeva Narasimha snatched from the Gurjara king's arms the goddess of victory whom though desirous of keeping he had held too loosely. Mahipala fled as if struck by thunderbolts staying neither to eat or rest nor pick himself up while Narasimha pursuing bathed his horse at the junction of the Ganges and established his fame.<sup>2</sup> The conquest of the Gurjara capital by the Rashtrakuta king marks the beginning of the decline of the suzerainty of the Gurjaras. It was during this time of universal unrest throughout India that Amoghavarsha III gave his daughter Revakanummah the elder sister of Kannaradeva i.e. Krishnaraja III in marriage to Permanadi Butayya i.e. Butuga II of the Western Ganga dynasty and added as her dowry the districts known as the Puligere 300 the Belvola 300 the Kisukad 70 and the Bage 70. According to the Hebbal inscription this marriage took place during the reign of Krishna II<sup>3</sup> but the spurious Sidi plates of Butuga say that this marriage took place when Anoghavarsha III was in the country of Dahala in the very city of Tripuri. His younger brother possessed of prosperity and wealth acquired by his own arm went to the glorious Baddega the favourite of the earth in the country of Dahala, and then being of the most excellent understanding wedded his daughter

<sup>1</sup> Stein *Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* Vol. I pp. 102-104.  
Epigraphia Indica Vol. VII pp. 38-43.

<sup>2</sup> *Kannalaka-Saddanūśāsana* ed. ed by Leiris R. et al., p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV pp. 300-302, 354.

along of a ventry with the maiden Floquence at Tripuri (L 48)<sup>1</sup> According to the Deoli and Karkhad plates of Krishna III of the Rashtrakuta dynasty this Butuga called Bhutarya was placed on the throne in the place of Richa malli I by the former prince. The interference of Krishna III in the affair of the Western Ganga kingdom appears simply to be due to the fact that Butuga or Bhutarya was the brother-in-law of the Rashtrakuta king. The statement of the Hebbal inscription that Krishna II Alavarsha was alive and reigning when Butuga surnamed Satyavikta Komguvarman was married to the daughter of Amoghavarsha III is impossible to believe because Krishna II ceased to reign before Sala 836=914 A.D. and there are no certain dates for Krishna II after Sala 833=911 A.D. Krishna II then must have died some time between 911 and 914 A.D. Krishna III must have placed Butuga on the throne of the Western Ganga after he succeeded his father Amoghavarsha III i.e., some time after Sala 850. The actual event is mentioned in plates which were issued in Saka 812 and 880. This marriage cannot therefore have taken place in the life time of Krishna II because the succession of Butuga II to the Western Ganga kingdom must have happened some time between Saka 850 and Sala 862 (933-40 A.D.) over twenty years after the death of Krishna II. A Kanarese inscription discovered at Jura in the Marhar State confirms the statement of the Deoli and Karkhad plates. This inscription is now used as a lintel of a modern house. Its characters are South Indian and its language Kanarese. Its object according to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri is to record all the *unadas* of Krishna III. It is certainly the northernmost record in the Kanarese language and was found in a place about one thousand miles to the north of Kanarese speaking tracts in South India. Most probably it formed part of a pillar of victory set up by King Krishna III to mark the northernmost limit of his campaign after defeating the Hahaya king of Tripuri. Numerous fragmentary records of Krishna III have been found in the western part of the Central Provinces which formed part of the Rashtrakuta kingdom and of the ancient kingdom of Malwa but even these lie about two hundred miles south of Jura.<sup>2</sup>

It is not known what part the Chola kings played in the wars between the Rashtrakutas and the Gurjars. This long war did not terminate with the reign of Indira III as Krishna III claims to have inflicted a defeat on the Gurjars of the north. Yuvrajadeva built a large number of temples at Gurga and at other places a detailed account of which will be found in Chapter II. He married a lady of the Chalukya family named Nohal a daughter of Avanavarmman. Yuvraja I was succeeded by his son Lalshimavarga of whom we possess only one inscription which is the earliest record of this dynasty. This inscription was discovered on a stone at Kuntain a village in the Murwara subdivision of the Jabalpur District in the Central Provinces. From this record we learn that the minister of Yuvrajadeva I was a Brahmana of the

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. III, p. 19-18.

<sup>2</sup> *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri*, p. 14.

Bhāradvāja *gōtra* named Bhūlakṣma. His son, Sōmēśvara, was the minister of Lakshmanarāja. We also know from this record that the name of Lakshmanarāja's queen was Rāhada and that he had a son named Sankaragana, whom we know from other inscriptions to have succeeded Lakshmanarāja in the Chāḍī kingdom.<sup>1</sup> We learn from the Bilhari inscription that Lakshmanarāja defeated the Lord of Kōśala and made an offering of an image of the *Nōgo* Kāliya, worked with jewels and gold, which he had obtained from the Prince of Ōḍra<sup>2</sup> to the god Sōmēśvara. He is also stated to have bathed in the sea and worshipped Somēśvara, which is Sōmanātha near modern Verawal in Kathnawad.<sup>3</sup> The lord of Kōśala mentioned in the Bilhari record may be either the lord of Southern Kōśala, *i.e.*, the so-called Guptas of the Central Provinces or it may be the Gurjara king of Kanauj. In this particular case the lord appears to have been the Gurjara-Pratihara king of Kanauj, because Lakshmanarāja is referred to in the Kahlā plate of the Kalachuri Sōhadēva of V S 1134. In this record it is stated that Sōhadēva was descended from a younger son of Lakshmanarāja, who had conquered the Śvētapada country.<sup>4</sup> In this record it is stated that Lakshmanarāja succeeded his elder brother who conquered Kālāṅṣara. The name of this elder brother has not been discovered as yet. Lakshmanarāja is referred to in a verse in the Benares plates of Karnadēva but no historical information is to be derived from it. The next mention of Lakshmanarāja is to be found in the Goharwa plates of Karnadēva, where it is stated that Lakshmanarāja defeated the Vangulas the king of the Pāṇḍya country, despoiled the lord of the Lāta country, *i.e.* Gujarat defeated the lord of the Gurjaras and was worshipped by the heroes of Kāśmīra.<sup>5</sup> This statement in the Goharwa plates is corroborated by the almost contemporary Bilhari inscription and therefore cannot be disregarded. The statement in the Kahlā plates also corroborate the theory that Lakshmanarāja fought with the Gurjara king of Kanauj, who is referred to as the king of Kōśala in the Bilhari inscription. At this time Lakshmanarāja seems to have placed one of his sons in charge of a tract of country conquered from the Gurjaras to the north of the Gandoḷi from whom the Kalachūris of Kōśala were descended. The dynasty lasted till the rise of the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj, after which nothing more is heard about it. The word *Vangala* no doubt means Bengal proper and the reference is to a war with the Pala king of that country. This raid also, like the raid of Yuvarāja dēva must have happened during the occupation of Magadha by the Pratihāra-Gurjaras, when the Pala kingdom was confined to Bengal proper, during the reigns of Rājyapala Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II. It is not known who was the king of Gujarat at this time. A separate reference to Gujarat and another to the king of the Gurjaras shows that a portion of Gujarat had at that time

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica Vol II pp 174-79*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid Vol I pp 260-268*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid Vers. 61*

<sup>4</sup> A country of this name is mentioned in a newly discovered copper plate grant of one Ya-overman, a feudatory of the Paramara king Bhōja I of Mālava. The grant is not dated.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid Vol XI p 140*

slipped away from the control of the Gurjaras. The kings of the Gurjaras at this time appear to have been some of the numerous weak successors of Mahipala I :— (a) Devapala who was reigning in 948 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and in 961 A.D.<sup>2</sup> (b) Mahipala II who was reigning in 950 A.D. and is known from a mention in the Bayana inscription of the Yadava Queen Chitrakutika of the year V.S. 1012.<sup>3</sup> (c) a third prince was Vijayapala the son of Mahipala I who is known from the Rajor inscription of 1016 V.E.=960 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

Lakshmanaraja had two sons and at least one daughter. The sons were Sankaragana and Yuvarajadeva II while the name of the daughter was Bonthadevi who was married to the Western Chalukya king Vikramaditya IV. This relationship is mentioned in the Kanthar plates of Vikramaditya V. Lala II the son of Bonthadevi who defeated and overthrew the last Rashtrakuta king reigned for 24 years from Saka 890=973 A.D. Lakshmanaraja can therefore be said to have reigned in the second quarter 10th century A.D. With the exception of this synchronism no further data for fixing the date of Lakshmanaraja are available at present. It is stated in the Bilhari inscription and the Benares plates of Kannha that Lakshmanaraja was succeeded by his son Sankaragana but this prince is omitted in the genealogy given in the Goharwa plates of Kannhadeva. Sankaragana is also mentioned in the Kantalar stone inscription of his father's minister Somesvara. No historical facts can be gleaned about this prince from the Bilhari inscription or the Benares plates of Kannha. Another short inscription which was inscribed during the reign of this prince was discovered by Cunningham at Chhoti Deon in the Jubbulpore District.<sup>5</sup>

Sankaragana was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarajadeva II who is known as the moon of the Chedi country (*Chedi Chandra*). No details are available about the reign of this prince in whose reign the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chedi was chiselled but he is mentioned in the Benares and Goharwa plates of Kannha and the Khairha plates of Kannha's son Yasahkarna.

A period in the chronology of the kings of the Chedi dynasty has been reached when their power was at its lowest ebb. Sankaragana his brother Yuvarajadeva II and the latter's son Kolkalladeva II appear to have continued their attentions to the country around their capital Tripuri. Vilastiraja II of the Paramara dynasty of Malava claims to have conquered Yuvaraja II in battle and occupied Tripuri the Chedi capital. Who (Vilastiraja II) conquering Yuvaraja (Yuvaraja II) and slaying his generals as victor raised on high his sword in Tripuri.<sup>6</sup> According to the Karambel inscription of Jyoti Simhadeva Yuvarajadeva II is said to have worshipped Somesvara after having conquered all the cardinal points. This is evidently a confusion the compose

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I p. 1

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle for the year ending 31st March 1910* p. 43

<sup>4</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III p. 60

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham *Archaeological Survey Report* Vol. XXI Part I p. 17 Pl. XXVIII

<sup>6</sup> Udaya Prasasti of the Kings of Malava *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I p. 31



of the *prasasti* having misapprehended the epithets applicable to Yuvarāja I to his grandson Yuvarāja II. Another defeat of the Chedi kings is recorded in the Miraj plates of Jayasinha II. In verse 29 it is stated that Tailpa II defeated the Hunas, Mālavas and Chēdis<sup>1</sup>. This verse is omitted in the Nālgund plates of Vikramāditya VI<sup>2</sup>. As Tailpa was Lakshmanarāja's daughter's son he must have been the contemporary of his maternal uncle Yuvarāja II whom he defeated. According to an inscription from Mahoba, Vidyādhara of the Chandella dynasty is said to have been worshipped by Bhōjadēva, i.e. Bhōja I of Mālava and Kalachūri-Chandira who is perhaps the same as Chēdi Chandira i.e. Yuvarāja II.<sup>3</sup> The Bilhar inscription was incised during the reign of Yuvarāja II and this period represents the highest pinnacle to which the influence of the Śaiva ascetics in this country had attained. Kōkkalla II the son and successor of Yuvarāja II, is mentioned in the Benares and Goharwa plates of Karmadēva, the Khairha plates of Yasahkarmadeva, the Bhiciaghāt inscription of Alhanulēvi and the Karanbel inscription of the time of Jayasinhadēva. But in none of these inscriptions is any information of historical importance, regarding this prince, to be found.

Kokkalla II was succeeded by his son and successor Gāngēyadēva, the founder of the empire of the Chēdi kings. Unfortunately for us, only one inscription of this prince has been discovered up to date and this inscription too has not been properly edited. It is incised on the *asṭhapatta* of a *linga* in the bed of a river at Piawan, in the northern part of the Rewa State, a place difficult of access even now, as it is far from road and railways. Two things are certain that this inscription contains a date and the name of the king Gāngēyadēva. The date has been read as (Kalachūri Chēdi) Samvat 789=1038 A.D. According to the mutilated inscription from Mahoba now in the Lucknow Museum, Gāngēyadēva was a contemporary of Vijayapāla of the Chandella dynasty, the son and successor of Vidyādhara and the grandson of Ganda. The date of the end of Gāngēyadēva's reign is known from the Benares plates of his son Karṇa, according to which the first annual Śāddha ceremony of Gāngēyadēva was performed by him on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna a Saturday of the Kalachūri year 793 and the grant given on the ninth day of the same month, a Monday, corresponding to 18th January 1042 A.D. It must then be admitted that Gāngēyadēva was ruling in the first half of the 11th century A.D. It was about this time that Rājyapāla, the successor of Vijayapāla and Rājyapāla's successor Trilōchanapāla were ruling at Kanauj. The defeat of Rājyapāla at the hands of Mahmud has been described by the late Dr. V. A. Smith. Rājyapāla is no doubt the same as Rai Jaspal of the Muhammadan Historians<sup>4</sup>. In 1018 Sultan Mahmūd after sacking Mathurā invested Kanauj. Rājyapāla lacking courage to defend his capital made little or no resistance and presently tendered his submission. "Mahmud having

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XII, pp. 511-12

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 152

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I p. 279

<sup>4</sup> *Elliott's History of India*, Vol. II pp. 41-46

become master of all the seven forts in a single day gave his soldiers license to plunder the city and take as many prisoners as they desired. Those inhabitants who had not either escaped or been reduced to slavery were put to the sword and the temples were destroyed but the city as a whole was not razed. In the spring the Sultan in his wonted fashion returned to Ghazni with his spoil and captives.

Ganda the Chandel raja of Jejīkabhūti and Kīlūṅger was indignant at the want of spirit shown by Rājyapāla who had submitted tamely to the foreigner, withdrawn from Kanauj and moved his court to Bāri on the other side of the Ganges.

"The rulers of several other Hindu States sharing the dissatisfaction felt by Ganda formed an alliance with him for the purpose of punishing the recreant Rājyapāla. The allies who included Arjuna, the Kacchvaha raja of Gwāhor placed themselves under the command of Vidyadhara, the Chandel crown prince, son of Ganda captured Kanauj and slew Rājyapāla. These events must have taken place in the hot weather of 1019 A.D. after the departure of the Sultan and before the break of the rains. The dishonoured throne of Kanauj and Bāri was then occupied by Rājyapāla's son Trilochanapāla, who continued to reside at Bāri.<sup>1</sup>

In this manner the supremacy of the Gurjara Pratihāras came to an end. Trilochanapāla is the last known descendant of Bhoja I who reigned at Kanauj. The disappearance of the last remnants of the Gurjara Pratihāra Empire of Northern India appears to have been hastened by Gangāyādēva who seems to have overthrown the last prince of that dynasty. No historical information about Gangāyādēva can be obtained from the Benares copper plate of his son and successor Kaimba but in the Goharwa plates of Kaimba it is stated that Gangāyādēva had imprisoned the king of the Kīra country, had defeated the Kuntalas, had conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Anga (V 17).<sup>2</sup> In the Khairha plates of his grandson Yasodharma it is stated that "His son was Gangāyādēva, a thunderbolt falling on the heads of enemies (and) with smiling eyes (and) with his two arms surpassing the length of a city bar (V 10). The crest jewel of crowned heads he became famous under the name of Vikramaditya wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country, came to possess it again (V 11). When fond of residing at the foot of the holy fig tree of Praviṅga, he had found salvation there together with his hundred wives his son Kaimbadeva honoured the quarters with the pearls from the frontal globes of the majestic elephants or his enemies cleft by his sword (V 17).<sup>3</sup> The same verses are to be found in the Jubbulpore plate of the same prince where the name Kuntala was misread by Prof. Knelson. Both the Khairha and the Jubbulpore plates mention definitely that Gangāyādēva was fond of residing at the holy *Al-hayyana* at Praviṅga,

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 26.

i.e. Allahabad, proving that Gāṅgēyādēva's kingdom extended as far north as the Ganges and showing that, at some time of their reigns, Rājyapāla or Trilochanapāla had lost all hold over the country to the south of the Ganges. The statement of the Goharwa plate proves definitely that Gāṅgēyādēva had taken prisoner the king of the Kira country i.e. of the Kangra Valley to the north east of the Punjab. We have no corroboration for this statement in any other inscription, but if it is true, then the Kira country most probably marks the north western limit of Gāṅgēya's kingdom, showing that he had possessed himself of the whole of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. It is certain that Gāṅgēya also conquered the eastern provinces of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire, as a corroboration of this statement is to be found in the Goharwa plates and the colophon of a manuscript of the Ramāyana now in the collection of the Darbar Library at Kathmandu in Nepal. This colophon states that it was copied during the reign of the *Gaudādhwaja*, the illustrious Gāṅgēyādēva, in Tirabhukti, in Samvat 1076=1019-20 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars, particularly Mr R. P. Chanda, refuse to believe that this Gāṅgēya was the Gāṅgēyādēva of the Chedi dynasty and are inclined to refer him to a local dynasty of kings of Tirhut or Nepal. But in view of the statement in the Goharwa plates, it is doubtful whether any other identification is possible. From the date in this manuscript it will be evident that Gāṅgēyādēva was a contemporary of Mahipala I of Bengal and Rājyapāla of Kanauj and may have helped in the dethronement or murder of the latter, for his submission to Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. From Mr Hiralal's successful decipherment of the name *Kuntala* and the translation of the 11th verse in the Jubulpore plate, it is now evident that Gāṅgēya conquered the Kuntala country and gave it back to its former king. "It is I have correctly interpreted verse 11, there is an allusion to the conquest and restoration of the Kuntala country to its king by Gāṅgēyādēva. This kingdom included the Banavāsī, Hāngal, Puligere, Belvola, Kundī, Belgama, Kisukad districts, etc. in the Hyderabad State and the Bombay Presidency and seems to have been the raiding ground of the neighbouring kings in the same way as the old Chakrakotva in Bastar. The Chālukya king Tailapa claims to have subjugated it about 973 A.D., Kulottunga Chola-deva I is recorded to have defeated the Kuntala king about 1070 A.D. and a century later Ballala II of the Hoysāla dynasty established his supremacy over that country."

"It appears that after Tailapa's raid Kuntala was raided by Gāṅgēyādēva. This must have been done before 1049 A.D., as at that time Gāṅgēya had ceased to reign. The subjugation of a kingdom so far away from Tripuri indicates the greatness of its victors at that time. It is such bold enterprises which seem to have prepared the way to the conquest of Telangāna by Gāṅgēya's son Karnadēva, who assumed the title of *Trikalagadhipati* or Lord of Trikalanga." The 11th verse of the Khairha plates is supported by the 17th verse of the Goharwa plates of Karnna and therefore is not an empty boast of the composer of the *prasasti*. The permanent occupation of Prayaga or

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Darbar Library of Nepal p. 18 and No. 1079 (KHA) 1. 24

<sup>2</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. XII p. 203

Allahabad by the Chedi Kings is further proved by the issue of the Benares plates of Karmna at the end of the first year of the reign of that prince from Prayaga itself<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of the short inscription on the *li ga* at Pawan in the Rewa State no other record of this redoubtable monarch has been discovered as yet and consequently further information about the rise of the Chedi power is not available at present. More light is thrown on Gangyadeva and his doings by the inscriptions of his son and grandson. The undated Chandella inscription from Mahoba from which we learn that the Chedi king Gangyadeva was a contemporary of the Chandella king Vijayapala states: "When Gangyadeva who had conquered the world perceived before him (his) terrible one the lotus of his heart closed the knot (or the flower?) of pride in battle." According to the calculations of the late Dr J. F. Fleet Gangyadeva died on the 22nd January 1041 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Karmna the most important figure in this dynasty of Chedi kings. Gangyadeva issued gold and copper coins in his name after the type of later Gupta gold coinage.<sup>2</sup>

If Gangyadeva had left any vestige of the once powerful and able empire of the Gurjaras Karmna wiped it away. It is stated in the Basahi plates of the Galadavla king Govindachandra that Chandradeva came to the rescue of the earth when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karmna the world became troubled.<sup>3</sup> The Bhoja mentioned in this grant is no doubt Bhoja I of the Pratihara Gurjara dynasty and Karmna, the king of the Chedi dynasty. Therefore there cannot be any doubt about the fact that Karmna had himself once ruled over Kanauj. Karmna was a mighty conqueror. About his conquests there is of course no reference in the Benares plates. The Goharwa plates devote 11 verses to Karmna but there is no information of historical interest in them. Similarly no information of historical importance is to be found in the two known inscriptions of Karmna's son and successor Yasahikarna deva. More information is available from the Bheraghat inscription of the queen Alhan deva the wife of Karmna's grandson Gayalarna. It is stated in this inscription that: "While this king of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism the Pandya relinquished violence the Murla gave up his arrogant bearing the Kunga entered the path of the good the Yanga trembled with the Kalunga the Kira stayed at home like a parrot in a cage (and) the Huna left off being merry." (V. 12).<sup>4</sup> In the Karanbel inscription of Jayasmitra the great grandson of Karmna it is stated that he was waited upon by the Chedi Kunga Hima Gauda Gurjara and Kira princes.<sup>5</sup> These statements are not empty boasts because a corroboration of the facts is to be

<sup>1</sup> Dr K. K. Chakravarti acknowledged subsequently that the inscription on the Benares plates was from Allahabad and the place from which the grant was issued was Prayaga and not Benares—*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VI Appendix p. 58 note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* I pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*—*Calcutta* of *Conna* the *Ind. Ant.* in *Calcutta* Vol. I pp. 24-25.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI pp. 10-12.

<sup>5</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. II pp. 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII p. 21.

found in inscriptions of other dynasties. According to the Nagpur *prasasti* Udayaditya of Malava, who was ruling in 1080 A.D. is said to have freed the land from the dominion of Kannva who joined by the Karnatas had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean<sup>1</sup>. The reference to Kannva in this inscription has been but imperfectly understood hitherto. It has not been recognised that the disastrous end of the reign of Bhoja I was due to the conquest of Malava by Kannva. It was recognised by Dr. Keilhorn who stated in 1894, that in verse 32 the poet intimates that Bhojadeva's end was unfortunate and he relates that during the troubles which then had befallen the realm Bhojadeva's relative Udayadeva became king when he had become India's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged his relation Udayaditya became king delivering the earth which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Kannva who joined by the Karnatas was like the mighty ocean this prince did indeed act like the holy Boar. The same fact is no doubt referred to in the 19th verse of the Udaipur *prasasti* of the kings of Malava where it is stated that 'Seeing the Karnatas the lord of Latra the king of Gurjaras the Thrushikas chief among whom were the lord of Chedi Indrasathia and Toggala and Bhuma conquered by his mercenaries alone his hereditary warriors thought only of the strength of their arms not of the number of fighters. The lord of Chedi apparently Kannva appears to have led this confederacy of kings against Bhoja I of Malava and finally conquered the entire kingdom. Though the Udaipur *prasasti* claims a victory for Bhoja I over the lord of Chedi the statement in the Nagpur *prasasti* is clearly significant. The Indrarathia mentioned here appears to be the same prince who was defeated by Rajendra Chola I in his northern expedition<sup>2</sup>. There cannot be any doubt about the fact that for the time being Kannva overthrew the Palamaras of Malava and annexed that kingdom.

The neighbouring kingdom of the Chandellas seems to have been conquered by Kannva before the conquest of Malava. The defeat of the Chandellas and their absorption in the Chedi kingdom are acknowledged in the Ajaygarh rock inscription of Viravarman. In that race there was a ruler over the earth whose fame is sung by the Vidyadharas (*who was*) the pitcher born (*Aqastya*) in swallowing that ocean Kannva (and) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom—the illustrious Kirtivarman (V 3)<sup>3</sup>. In the undated Chandella inscription from Mahoba it is stated that Kirtivarman conquered Lakshmi kannva. Just as Purushottama (*Iskara*) having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain (*Mandara*) the rolling (*mill*) ocean whose high waves had swallowed many mountains obtained (*the goddess*) Lakshmi together with the elephants (*of the craft regions*) he (*viz* Kirtivarman) having acquired fame by crushing with his strong army the haughty Lakshmi karna whose

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. II p. 181

<sup>2</sup> Ibid pp. 185-193

<sup>3</sup> Thumala Inscription. See I Indian Inscriptions Vol. I Nos. 67-68 pp. 98-100 Epigraphica Indica Vol. IX pp. 202-3

<sup>4</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. I pp. 327-29

armies had destroyed many princes obtained splendour in this world together with elephants (V 26)<sup>1</sup> This *Lalākūka* has been identified by Dr F Hultzsch with Karna of the Chedi or Haihaya dynasty and has also brought to notice the mention of this historical incident in the prologue of Kṛṣṇa-misra's famous drama the *Prabodha-śāndilya*. This drama was acted before Kirtivarman at the command of his general, a Brahmana named Gopala who had just vanquished Karna and again placed Kirtivarman on the throne. Karna is mentioned thrice in the prologue —

(1) In a Sanskrit verse the importance of which was first recognised and its bearing explained by General Cunningham — 'He (i.e. Gopala) having overcome the strong Karna caused the rise of the illustrious king Kirtivarman, just as discrimination having overcome strong delusion gives rise to knowledge.'

(2) A passage in Sanskrit prose says of Gopala that he strove to re-establish the sway over the earth of the kings of the lunar race which (sway) had been uprooted by the lord of Chedi who was as terrible as the fire at the end of the world to the multitude of all princes. Here the expression 'lord of Chedi' refers to Karna and the kings of the Lunar race to the Chandellas.

(3) A lengthy Pāli passage says that Gopala having crushed the ocean-like army of Karna obtained the splendour of victory in battle just as Mādhumathana (*Vishnu*) having churned the milky ocean obtained (the goddess) Lakṣmī.<sup>2</sup>

In this inscription as well as the *Prabodha-śāndilya* there are clear evidences of the fact that Karna had practically assimilated the whole of the Chandella kingdom before the time of Kirtivarman and that this kingdom was restored to the Chandella dynasty during the later part of Karna's reign. It has been stated above that Vijayapala of the Chandella dynasty was a contemporary of Karna's father Gangeva. Therefore Vijayapala's successor Devavarman must have been the prince who was deprived of his kingdom by Karna and whose brother Kirtivarman was restored by the prowess of his Brahmana general Gopala. Similarly the grammarian Hemachandra eulogises Bhimadēva I of Anahilapataka for having conquered Karna in battle. According to Merutunga's *Prabandha-chintamani*<sup>3</sup> Karna combined with Bhima I of Gujarat and Bhoja I of Malva succumbed to this joint attack. Prof Kielhorn doubts the accuracy of Merutunga's statement. For the Chedi inscriptions do not even hint that Karna worked the destruction of the most famous monarch of the eleventh century. Nor does Hemachandra who wrote his *Dnyasaya-laxya* about 150 years before Merutunga's times say that Bhima I had a share in Bhoja's reverses though otherwise he is anxious to place Bhima's military exploits in the best possible light. It seems strange that the Chodian court poets and older Gujarati writers should both have forgotten to

<sup>1</sup> Paragraph 11 d ca. Vol I pp 219-220

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p 220

<sup>3</sup> *Prabandha-chintamani* p 21 ff A K Forbes. Note at p 65 ff (q vta b. Kellon n. P. p. 111) Vol I p 219-220

notice an event which must have reflected so much glory on the ancestors of their patrons.<sup>1</sup>

For some unknown reason the writers of the Ghēḍī inscriptions, for example the Goharwa plates of Karnna and the Jubbulpore and Khairā plates of his son Yasāhikarnna omit all references to the exploits of Karnna. The inscription on the Benares plates of Karnna may be neglected, as it was incised in the second year of his reign, very probably before he started on his campaigns. The details about Karnna's campaigns are to be found in the inscriptions of the time of Karnna's grandson, and great-grandson i.e. the Bhera-ghat inscription of Gayākarnna's queen Alhanādēvi and the Karanbel inscription of Gayākarnna's son Jayasimha. In the latter inscription there is a reference to the king of Gurjara<sup>2</sup> who is apparently the king of Gujarat and not the Gurjara Pratihara king of Mahodaya or Kananj, the Murala country which is the same as Kērala or Malabar, the Kunga country which is the same as the Kongudēsa,<sup>3</sup> corresponding to the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency, the Vanga country, which is Eastern Bengal together with Kalinga (Orissa) and Kira (Kangra valley). The Karanbel inscription of Jayasimha mentions the kings of the Chōla, Kunga, Hūna, Gauda, Gurjara and Kira countries. Therefore the Kunga, Hūna and Kira kings are mentioned in common in both inscriptions. The Kira country is no doubt modern Kangra and the Hūna country modern Panjab. It may be mentioned in this connection that Karnna married a Hūna princess named Avallādēvi. The Bhera-ghat inscription mentions the Pāndya, Kērala, Vanga and Kalinga kings in addition.<sup>4</sup> No reliable information is available about the state of the Pāndya kingdom at this time. The Kērala country was attacked by Karnna's father Gāngēyadēva. There is a corroboration of Karnna's war in Eastern Bengal in the Belava copper plate inscription of Bhōjavarmadēva, where it is mentioned that Jīta-varman, the grandfather of the donor married Virasrī, a daughter of Karnna.<sup>5</sup> The marriage must have taken place after Karnna's campaign in Eastern Bengal. About Kalinga we have no other definite information except the fact that Karnnadeva took the title of *Trilalagādhipati*. The Karanbel inscription of Karnna's great-grandson Jayasimha mentions three other countries in addition viz. the Chōla, Gauda and Gurjara kingdoms. The Gurjara prince is Bhmadēva I of Gujarat. More reliable evidence of Karnna's campaigns in Gauda i.e. in Bengal is available, being recorded by two contemporary witnesses one of whom was Atisa or Dīpankara Śrījñāna the famous Buddhist missionary, who went from Bengal to convert Tibet. The occurrence of the name of a king called Karnna in Tibetan literature was recorded by that pioneer of Tibetan investigations the late Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, C.I.E., in an article on the life of Atisa. It remained, however, for the late Mr. Monmohan

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 232

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII pp. 216-18

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 216, *Archaeological Survey of Southern India. List of Antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras* Vol. I, p. 193

<sup>4</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. II pp. 11-12

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XII pp. 40-41

Chalravarta to identify this Karnna with king Karnna of the Chedi dynasty. In editing the Krishnadevika temple inscription of Nayapala Mr Chakravarti pointed out that Atisa mediated between Nayapala and the king Karnna and that the title 'King of Karnya' seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit word *Karnyaraja* a mistake for *Karnna-rajā*.<sup>1</sup> Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das found the following information about Nayapala and his war with Karnna in Tibetan records —

'During Atisa's residence at Vajrasana a dispute having arisen between Nayapala king of Magadha and the Tirthuka' king of Karnya of the west, the latter made war upon Magadha. Failing to capture the city, his troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men)

Afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapala) and the troops of Karnna were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king of Karnya and his men under protection and sent them away. Atisa caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things which had fallen in the hands of the parties were either restored or compensated for.<sup>2</sup> This was only the first campaign of Karnna against the king of Gauda. The second campaign took place during the reign of Vīgrahapala III the son and successor of Nayapala. This campaign is mentioned in the unique history of the later Palas the *Ranacharita* of Sandhyā-laranandin. In the commentary of this work it is stated that Vīgrahapala III though he had conquered Karnna in battle did not uproot him i.e. deprive him of his kingdom and that Karnna's daughter Lauvarasī was married to Vīgrahapala III. There cannot be any doubt about the identity of this Karnna mentioned in the commentary of the *Ranacharita* as it is expressly stated in the same commentary that this Karnna was the king of Duhala.<sup>3</sup>

According to the researches of Dr Kielhorn the certain dates of Rajendra deva Parakesarivarmman range from 1052 to 1062 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and therefore he must have been the contemporary of Karnna in the earlier part of the reign of the latter. Another chief of the Chola dynasty i.e. Virarajendra Rajakesarivarmman was reigning between 1062 and 1067 A.D.<sup>5</sup> and therefore was also a contemporary of Karnna. It is possible that this prince who was ambitious enough to have campaigned in the north and boasts in one of his inscriptions<sup>6</sup> of having recovered Kanyakubja was the king of the Chola country who was defeated by Karnna. It is evident from the tone of the Chola records about the Chedi war that they suffered a reverse at the hands of Karnna. The Cholas came into contact with the Chedis along the eastern coast as Virarajendra Rajakesarivarmman is stated to have expelled Devanātha and

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Part I 1906 p. 129*

<sup>2</sup> This term is generally applied to Jains in Buddhist literature

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society Vol. I p. 9 Note*

<sup>4</sup> *Commentary Series 9 Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. III p. 21 ibid Vol. I p. 80*

<sup>5</sup> *Epigraphia Indica Vol. XIII Ann. II pp. 22-23 No. 12*

<sup>6</sup> *ibid p. 23 No. 15*

<sup>7</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions Vol. III No. 53 p. 200*



other *Sāmantas* from Chakrakōṭṭa<sup>1</sup> This place is mentioned in the Tirumalai rock inscription of Rājendrachōla I<sup>2</sup> and is also called Chakrakōṭṭya at the present day, being situated in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces,<sup>3</sup> which lay in the southern part of the Chēḍī Kingdom, ruled by the collateral branch of the family known as the Hahayās of Retnapura Chakrakōṭṭa is mentioned in an inscription of Kulōttunga Chōla I, discovered at Tiruvorriyur, where it is stated that the Chōla king conquered the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭṭa and took possession of the eastern country<sup>4</sup> This king of Dhārā must be Lakshmadēva, son of Udayāditya, who restored the Paramūra kingdom, as Kulōttunga Chōla I ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and the known dates of Udayāditya range from 1059 to 1080 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Regarding Kērala we do not possess any definite information as to who was reigning in that province in the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

Karṇa's campaigns in the Chōla, Pāṇḍya and the Kōṇḍa country appear to have been mere expeditions without any lasting effect, but his occupation of Bānyakuhja, his annexations of the Chandōlla kingdom and of the kingdom of Malava are undoubted historical facts proved from other records and from records of the dynasty of the kings, who were uprooted by Karṇa. There is no doubt about the fact that he was a great conqueror and founded a mighty empire for himself in northern India Kinloch Forbes in his *Rāsmālā* states "At this time a raja named Kurun reigned in Dahal land, the modern Tipera, and over the sacred city of Kashee or Benares . . . One hundred and thirty six lings worshipped at the lotus feet of Karṇa"<sup>6</sup> In his old age Karṇa abdicated in favour of his son Yasahkarṇa, whose accession to the throne took place sometime before the Kalachūri Chēḍī year 823=1072 A.D. It is stated in the Khurha plates of Yasahkarṇadeva that Karṇadeva himself performed the coronation ceremony (*Mahābhishēṭa*) of his son, "Of this law-abiding (son) the father whose acts were purified by the respect which he had paid to the family priests, performed himself the great inauguration ceremony in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent as by a full jar, by the king of mountains and illumined by the Moon and Sun" (V 16).<sup>7</sup> Karṇadeva is known from two copper plate grants and two stone inscriptions. The first copper plate grant is dated Kalachūri Chēḍī year 793=1042 A.D. which was the second year of Karṇa's reign. This is the grant written on the Benares plates. The object of this inscription was to record the grant of the village of Susi to a Brāhmana named Visvarūpa, who was the son of Nārāyaṇa, the grandson of Vīmana, the great grandson of Maha, a student of the Vājaśaneyā *Sākhā* and who belonged to the Kūṣiṇa gotra, by Karṇadeva, who

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII App II p. 23

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol IX pp. 30, 33.

<sup>3</sup> *Descriptive List of Inscriptions in the Central Provinces* by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, pp. 147, 148, 150, 152 and 153

<sup>4</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol III, No 64, p. 133

<sup>5</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol VIII App I p. 15 list No 11, No 11 See ante p. 25 regarding Lakshmadēva's conquest of Tripura.

<sup>6</sup> *Rāsmālā*, pp. 68-69

<sup>7</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XII, p. 216

bestowed it after bathing in the confluence known as Veni (Pravara or Alkha had) and having worshipped Śiva from the victorious camp at Prayaga, on the occasion of the first annual *Śraddhā* ceremony of his father on the second day of the dark half of Phalguna in the Kalachuri Chedi year 793.<sup>1</sup> The second copper plate is dated in the seventh year of his reign and was discovered at Goharwa in the Allahabad District. In a note on the date of this record the late Dr Fleet wrote: "The record is dated in the administration (*Vyavaharā*) renowned by the glorious Karna in the seventh year and on the full moon *tithi* coupled with a Thursday, of the month Karttika. Karna's predecessor was his father Gangeyadeva who was reigning, we know in A.D. 1030 and for whom we have perhaps also a date in A.D. 1037-38. For Karna's reign we have the date Phalguna Vadi 9 answering to 18 January A.D. 1042. On that day he made a grant, having bathed in the river Veni on Phalguna Vadi 2 on an occasion which the record mentions as *Samatara Śraddhā* of his father Gangeyadeva. However in any case the text appears to indicate distinctly not some indefinite anniversary of the death of Gangeyadeva but the first anniversary of his death and it is at any rate fully capable of being understood in this sense. Accordingly Gangeyadeva died on Phalguna Vadi 2=22 January A.D. 1041. The month Karttika in A.D. 1041 was therefore in the first year of Karna's reign. The month Karttika in his seventh year came in A.D. 1047. In this year the given *tithi* was connected quite regularly with a Thursday: it ended at about 11 hours 40 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) i.e. at about 5.45 p.m. on Thursday 3 November and, being current at sunrise it gave its number to that same day. And this date Thursday, 5 November A.D. 1047 seems clearly to be the date of the record." The inscription on the Goharwa plates records the grant of the village of Chandrapuri situated in the Kosimba *pattala* to a Brahmana named Pandita Śrī Santisūman the son of the *Aravallika* Mallu and the grandson of the Upadhyaya Śilu of the Kaundinya *gotra* and Vajrasanēy *śāla* by Karna's father on the occasion of the full moon day of Karttika (*Karttika purnimā*) after bathing at the *Asglatirtha* on the Ganges and after worshipping Śiva, in the seventh year of his public appearance according to law or custom (*Karna pralāte vyavaharāt*).<sup>2</sup> The terms in which the date of the Goharwa plates is expressed have since been further elucidated by the date of the Rewa inscription of Vapullaka of the Kalachuri Chedi year 812.<sup>3</sup> In the twentieth line of this inscription the year 812 evidently of the Kalachuri Chedi era, is mentioned as being equivalent to the ninth year of the public appearance of Karna. The phrase used in connection with the regnal year is *Samatara* 812 *Śrīmat Karna pralāte vyavaharāya narame samatara*. The fact that this particular regnal year of Karna began later than the year 792 of the Kalachuri Chedi era is indisputable because if the ninth year of the reign of

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. II pp. 209-10

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Vol. VI p. 146

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 144-45

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix C below pp. 130-33

Karnna fell in the year 812 the first year must have fallen in the year 803 04 of the same era. Therefore the year seven, which is the date of the Goharwa plates cannot be equivalent to 1047 A D. It must therefore be admitted, unless the date in the new Rewa inscription is a mistake, that Karnna was crowned a second time about eleven years after his coronation, most probably as a *Chakravartin* monarch, after having annexed the Chandēlla kingdom, the kingdom of Mūlava and the remnants of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire in the province of Kanyakubja, to his ancestral possessions. The second coronation was styled the public appearance of Karnna (*Karnna-prakāśa*) according to law (*Vyavaharana*).

This newly discovered Rewa inscription gives the names of some of the battles fought by Karnna. Names of battles are very rarely mentioned in Indian inscriptions and more specially so in northern inscriptions. This inscription, the object of which is to record the dedication of an image of Śiva, named after the donor, Vapullakēśvara and certain grants of land to this god, contains a reference to two battles which this chief Vapullaka had fought under Karnna. Unfortunately for us the inscription is very much mutilated and it is not possible to decipher or render any passage completely. It is also therefore impossible to identify the places mentioned therein. The first battle is mentioned in line 10 where there is a reference to a battle which was known among the people as the "Battle of horses" (*Ghotako vighraha*). In the next line another battle is referred to which is called the battle at the foot of the yellow mountain<sup>1</sup> (*Prta-parvata-tale samara*). In this battle a chief named Trilochana was defeated along with a holy person named Vijjala who had the title of *Muni* and who was evidently a Jaina. This chief Trilochana is evidently the same as the Chaulukya Trilochanapāla of the *Lata Dēśa*, one of whose inscriptions is dated Saka 972=1051 A D.<sup>2</sup> Evidently Vapullaka came against him in one of Karnna's campaigns against the king of Gujrat. Nothing else is known about this Trilochana. The new Rewa inscription was incised some ten years later than the Surat plates. The second stone inscription of Karnna was discovered by Sir John Marshall at Sarnath in 1906 07. In this inscription, which was incised in the Kalachuri Chōdi year 810=1058 A D. Karnna is called the master of the three Kalngas (*Trihalngadhipati*). It records the copying of the *Ashta-sahasrika Pragnaparamita* and some other donation by a lady named Māmakā in the *Dharma chakra pravarttana-mahavihara*.

The poet Bilhana records another defeat of Karnna in his *Vikramanka-charitra*. It is stated there that Sōmēśvara I, Āhavamalla, of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāni attacked the Chōdi or Dahala and deposed or slew Karnna.<sup>3</sup> There is no doubt about the fact that this prince was a contemporary of Karnna, because his certain dates range from Śaka 966 to 990.

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<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XII, p. 201

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Sanskrit Series, Vikramānka charitra* pp 27 10 I 102 03

(1041 1068 A D)<sup>1</sup> On the other hand his son Somavarma II was on the throne in Sala 993=1071 A D<sup>2</sup> The earliest known date of Karmna's son Yasahkarmna is the Kalachuri Chedi year 823=1071-72 A D but as Karmna abdicated in favour of his son it is impossible to state whether the statement of Bilhana is correct or not

Regarding Karmna's children one son Yasahkarnadeva who succeeded him during his lifetime and the two daughters who were married to the Pala king Vignrahapala III and Yudava king Jtavarnman of Eastern Bengal are known During the later part of his reign Karmnadeva seems to have suffered serious reverses in Gujarat at the hands of Bhima I in Malava at the hands of Udaya ditya who restored the Paramara monarchy and in the Chandella country at the hands of the Brahmana general Gopala who replaced Kirtivarman on the throne of his father No definite information is yet available about the date of the loss of Kanaur to the princes of the Chedi dynasty Chandradeva of the Gahadavala dynasty of Kanaur was on the throne in V S 1148=1090-91 A D<sup>3</sup> The conquest of Kanaur from the Chedi dynasty must therefore have taken place during the reign of Yasahkarmna

Of this prince only two inscriptions are known the Jubbulpore and the Khairha plates The Khairha plates contain the earliest known date viz the Kalachuri Chedi year 823=1071-72 A D Unfortunately the second plate of the Jubbulpore grant which contained the date is lost According to Prof Kielhorn this plate was issued in A D 1122 which is the only year in which the *Malava Samvrat* fell on Monday the tenth day of Magha This year again corresponds to the year 874 of the Kalachuri Chedi era Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the editor of the Khairha plates is inclined to doubt the accuracy of this calculation According to him the transcript of the second plate of the Jubbulpore grant contains the date 829 for the inscription which is equivalent to 31st December 1078 A D Yasahkarmna must have reigned for a very long time because even if we accept the date of the Nagpur Museum transcript of the Jubbulpore plates of this prince as correct there is a gap of seventy three years between this date 829 and the only known date of his son and successor Gayakarmna 902 Besides these two inscriptions no other records of Yasahkarmna are known Yasahkarmna was defeated and his capital Tripuri sacked by the Malava king Lakshmadeva This fact is recorded in the Nagpur *prastava* of Lakshmadeva of V S 1161 'When in the course of an unchecked expedition undertaken in the height of power and under favourable auspices, he had attacked Tripuri and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries he encamped on the banks of the Reva where his tents were shaded by the creeping plants of pleasure gardens gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains (V 30)<sup>4</sup> During this expedition Lakshmadeva appears to have been defeated by Kulottunga Chola I in Chalukotta<sup>5</sup> The only

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol VIII App II p 206  
*Id* No. 7

<sup>2</sup> *Id* Vol IX pp 304-5

<sup>3</sup> *Id* Vol I p 193

<sup>4</sup> See the *Indian Inscriptions* Vol III No 64 p 133

other mention of this prince in an epigraph is to be found in a grant of King Govindachandra of the Galadavala dynasty of Kanauj. This grant was edited by the late Dr Fitz Edward Hall in 1862, when the plates were in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These plates however, are no longer in the possession of that learned body. Here it is mentioned that Yasahkarnadēva had given a certain village, named Karandā with its tank to the royal spiritual preceptor the Śaiva teacher, the illustrious Rudrasiva. This village and tank were given to Thākura Vasisthasurman by Govindachandra in VS 1177=1120 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The village granted was situated in the Antarala *Pattala* which may be identified with the Antarveda or the land lying between the Ganges and the Yamuna. Whatever the reason for the confirmation of the grant may be there is no doubt that in 1120 A.D. not only Kanauj but the land between the Ganges and the Jumna also had passed out of the control of the descendants of Karna. The Chandella King Sallakshana-varman the son and successor of Kirtivarman claims to have defeated the Chōdis evidently Yasahkarna. "From him spring the prince Sullakshana whose sword took away the fortune of the Malavas and Chedis (V 4)<sup>2</sup>

Yasahkarna was succeeded by his son Gavalarna who is known to us from the Tewar inscription of the Kalachuri Chedi year 902=1151 A.D. The earliest known date of Yasahkarna is 1071 A.D. and the only known date of his son Gayakarna is 1151 A.D. There is thus a clear difference of eighty years between these two dates indicating that when Yasahkarna came to the throne he must have been but a boy and that he and his son Gayakarna together reigned for more than eighty years. As it is known that Karna ascended his throne in 1041 A.D., it has to be admitted that Karna, his son and grandson together reigned for more than 110 years at least a period which gives the abnormal average reign of thirty seven years to each of these princes. About Yasahkarna it is stated in the Jabulpore and Khairha plates that he defeated the Andhra king and worshipped the god Bhūmēsvara near the Godavari. 'Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw he revered with many ornaments the holy Bhūmēsvara passing close to whom the Godavari with dancing waves as her eyebrows sings (his praises) with the seven notes of her (seven) streams sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo' <sup>3</sup> (V 23). This temple of Bhūmēsvara has been identified by the editor of the Khairha plates with the temple of that name at Druksharamam in the Godavari District of the Madras Presidency. About this time, the kingdom of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi was being ruled by Rājendra Chōla II who reigned for forty nine years. He deputed three of his sons, one by one to rule the Eastern Chalukya kingdom as his deputy<sup>4</sup>. Most probably one of these sons was defeated by Yasahkarna

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol XXVI 1862 pp 123-24  
*Epigraphia Indica* Vol I p 3-9

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol VII 2p 91-116

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* Vol III App II p 18 Nos 30-33

It is stated in the Bheriglat inscription of Yasahkarnna's daughter in law Alhanadēvi that the former had ruled Champaranya. 'From him too his spotless birth the illustrious Yasahkarnna a crest jewel of rulers with a heart free from guile who illuminated the circle of the regions with the moon of his fame which had risen from the devastation of Champaranya (and) who in his generosity enriched all the learned without exception as soon as he set eyes on them' (V 15)<sup>1</sup>. This Champaranya has been identified quite wrongly with a tract of country in the Central Provinces. The country which still goes by this name lies to the north of the Ganges and is now included in the province of Bihar. It is still called Champaran and some of its kings issued coins after the Muhammadan conquest of Magadha. During the latter part of Yasahkarnna's reign the collateral branch of the Haihayas in southern Kosala appears to have become independent. Thus Jayalladeva I is mentioned in an inscription of the Kalachuri Chōdi year 866=1114 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Another king named Prithvadeva II of Ratnapura is mentioned in an inscription found at Kuldā which is dated Kalachuri Chedi year 893=1142 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Thus Gayakarnna seems to have succeeded only to Dādhī the ancestral kingdom of the Haihayas of Tripura i.e. the tract around Jabalpur.

Yasahkarnna's son and successor is known from two inscriptions. The Tewar inscription of the year 902 and the Bheriglat inscription of his widow of the year 907=1155 A.D. which proves that Gayakarnna had died before that year. It was under Gayakarnna that the Chedis lost most of their possessions which had remained to them after the reformation of the kingdom of Malwa under the Paramaras, the kingdom of Jejjubhukti under the Chandellas, the kingdom of Kinnor under the Chāhidvalas and the secession of Mithorāstra or Southern Kosala under the Haihayas of Ratnapura. In the Chandella inscriptions discovered at Mau in the Jhansi District which are now in the Indian Museum Calcutta it is stated that the king Madanavarman defeated the Chedi king. Before whose name even ever proudly flee the Chedi king, vanquished in fierce fight and through dread of whom the king of Kinnor always passes his time in friendly behaviour and by whom moreover that ruler of Malwa full of arrogance was quickly exterminated while other monarchs paying the homage to him have enjoyed supreme comfort' (V 15)<sup>4</sup>.

Madanavarman reigned from 1129 to 1162 A.D. and he was therefore a contemporary of Gayakarnna and perhaps of his son Narasimhadeva as well. It is therefore probable that the king of the Chedis defeated by Madanavarman was Gayakarnna. According to the inscription of the year 902 which was discovered at Tewar the ancient Tripura, a temple of Śiva was erected by a Paśupata ascetic named Bhuvabrahman and in this inscription Narasimhadeva is mentioned as the *Itiāga* or heri apparent<sup>5</sup>. A colossal Jain image dedicated

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. VIII Apr. II p. 19 No. 2953.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* Vol. I p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *I. Ind. Arch.* Vol. I p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *I. Ind. Arch.* Vol. I p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *I. Ind. Arch.* Vol. I pp. 108-109.

<sup>6</sup> *I. Ind. Arch.* Vol. I p. 11.

during the reign of Gayakarnadeva has been discovered at Bahuribund in the Jubbulpore District<sup>1</sup>. According to the Bhera ghat inscription of Alhanadevi Gayakarnadeva married Alhanadevi the daughter of king Vijayasinha who was born in the family of Gohila i.e. Guhilas of Medapata the modern Sisodiyas of Mewar. Vijayasinha was the son of Vanasinha who was the son of Hamsapala. Vijayasinha had married Syamaladevi a daughter of king Udayaditya of Malava (Verses 17-23)<sup>2</sup>. The same information is to be found in lines 15-16 of the unfinished Karanbel inscription of Jayasinha<sup>3</sup>.

Gayakarnadeva's successor was his eldest son Narasimhadeva. In the Bhera ghat inscription of the Kalachuri Chedi year 907=1155 A.D. he is mentioned as the reigning sovereign. The object of this inscription is to record the foundation of a temple of Siva by Alhanādēvi the mother of Narasimhadēva and the widow of King Gayakarnadeva with a *matha* or monastery, a hall of study and gardens around them (V. 27-28). The queen gave to this god the village of Numaunda in the Jauli *puttala* and the village of Malapatsika on the right bank of the river Narmada (*sulga* Nerbada or Nerbudda). The management of this temple and its property was given to the Pasupata ascetic the holy Rudrasiva of the Iata lineage<sup>4</sup> who appears to be the same person as that mentioned in the copper plate grant of Govindachandra of the year V.S. 1177=1120 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Narasimhadeva therefore came to the throne sometime between 1151 and 1155 A.D. The Bhera ghat inscription also refers to Narasimha's younger brother Jayasinha. Narasimhadeva is also mentioned in a votive inscription on the top of a hill called Lalpahad which is also known as the hill of Bharaut (*Bharaut ke doi gāi*). This record was inscribed in the Kalachuri Chedi year 909=1158 A.D. and records the construction of a water channel by Rati Vallaladeva son of the Maharajaputra Kesavadritya of the village of Vadyava<sup>6</sup>. In the Lalpahad inscription therefore there is definite proof of the fact that the land to the south of the river Tons was still in the occupation of the Chedis. Another inscription discovered at Alhaghat which was inscribed in V.S. 1216=1159 A.D. proves that this country was still in the occupation of Narasimhadeva. The inscription records the building of a *glota* called Shatashadila and the construction of the road over it along with the dedication of an image of Ambalika by the Ranaka Cheluhula son of the Ranaka Jallana<sup>7</sup>.

After this date Narasimhadeva appears to have been succeeded by his younger brother Jayasimhadeva. It is stated in the Rewa plates of the Mahārāja Kirtivarmman issued in the Kalachuri Chedi year 920=1175 A.D. that the descendants of Kurnna were still regarded as the suzerains in the country to the south of the river Tons. At the same time the Rewa grant indicates

<sup>1</sup> Cunn. Ghum—*Archaeological Survey Reports* Vol. IX p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. graph. a. Ind. en. Vol. II pp. 12-16.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. en. A. l. en. Vol. XVIII pp. 216-18.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. graph. a. Ind. en. Vol. II pp. 10-17.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XXXI 1862 p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. en. A. l. en. Vol. XVIII pp. 212-13.

*Ibid.* p. 214.

that a change had taken place during the last seventeen years. Grants of land were being issued by a local chief who simply acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chedi kings but did not consider it necessary to obtain the sanction of his suzerain before issuing a grant. In this connection attention may be invited to the Kamauhi plates of Govindachandira of Kunau and the Singara Maharajaputra Vatsaraja. The Singara chief was probably a feudatory of the Chedis but in V.S. 1181=1134 A.D. his allegiance had been transferred to the Gahadavali kings<sup>1</sup>. The inscription on the plate found at Kakandi records the grant of the village of Ahadapada in the *pattala* of Khundagika to two Brahminas named *Italuras* Mahadita and Sudana the sons of the *Italura* Chaturbhujā the grandsons of the *Italura* Gayadita the great-grandsons of the *Italura* Tiloclana of the Kausika *gotra* by the Maharaika Kirtivarman of Kakkaradika during the reign of *Paramanulakara* the lord of the three Kalungas the Maharajadhiraja Paramabhattachaka Paramesvara Jayasimha deva in the (Kalachuri-Chedi) year 926 on Thursday the 4th of the bright half of Bhadrapada at the place where *gandas* had been offered to the Rana Vatsaraja the father of Kirtivarman<sup>2</sup>. Another inscription of Jayasimhadeva was inscribed in the Kalachuri-Chedi year 926=1177 A.D. and records the erection of a temple of Siva by a Brahmin named Kesava during the reign of Jayasimhadeva the younger brother of Anasimhadeva son of the king Gayalunna. This Kesava was the inhabitant of a village named Sikhi in Malavaka<sup>3</sup>. An unfinished inscription of Jayasimhadeva was discovered at Karimbil near Tewar. According to Prof. Kielhorn the inscription was probably intended to record the erection of a temple of Siva but was clearly left incomplete and is therefore undated<sup>4</sup>.

The last known prince of this dynasty who ruled over his ancestral kingdom of Dahala is Vijayasimha the son and successor of Anasimhadeva. It is stated in the Kumbli plates of this prince that his mother was Gosaddevi. These plates contain the earliest known date of this prince, viz. the Kalachuri year 132=1180 A.D. The grant was issued from Tripuri on the Narman day and records the donation of the village of Chorjiri in the Samyala *pattala* to a Brahmin named Paudita Sudharman by the king Vijayasimha after bathing in the Narmanada at Tripuri. It records the names of the following officers —

The illustrious Maladumira Ajayasimhadeva the Sava Acharya and Chief Minister the royal spiritual preceptor Vidyadeva the chief priest (*Malapurohita*) Pandita Yajñadhara the chief judge (*Dharmajradhara*) and *Malamatya* Thakkura Kaki the *Mahakapatala* and the chief writer of grants (*Malapradanasthalehi*) the *Itakura* Dusanubha Vatsaraja, the *Malasani* Vijayaditya Thakkura Purushottama and the *Mahapratihara* Distasdiva. Vijayasimhadeva is also mentioned in three other inscriptions. The first of these is the fragmentary inscription at Gopalpur near Tewar which was noticed

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. IV p. 131-33

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Antiquary Vol. XVII pp. 406-7

<sup>3</sup> Epigraphia Indica Vol. II p. 18-19

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Antiquary Vol. XVII pp. 416-18

<sup>5</sup> Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. VIII 1839 pp. 1-12 Vol. XXVI 1871 p. 117



by Prof Kielhorn in 1889<sup>1</sup>. He is also mentioned as the reigning sovereign in the newly discovered Rewa inscription of Malayasimha. This inscription was incised in the Kalachūri-Chēdi year 944=1192 A.D. and records the excavation of a tank at the cost of fifteen hundred *tanakalas*, by one Malayasimha whose paternal grandfather Padmasimha was the minister of Vijayasimha. About his ancestry it is stated in this record that the first person whose name was remembered was Jāri, who was a contemporary of Karnadēva and had won his victories for him. His son was Yasahpāla, who was the contemporary of Kunnas grandson Gayākarna. Yasahpāla had two sons named Padmasimha and Chandrasimha of whom the former was the minister of Vijayasimha. Padmasimha's grandson Mulavasimha was also a contemporary of Vijayasimha. Vijayasimha therefore reigned for a longer period than his father or uncle, as his suzerainty is acknowledged by the Mahārānaka Salakshanavarma<sup>2</sup>, in the single Rewa copper plate grant issued by the latter chief, in the Vikrama year 1253=1195 A.D. This grant also proves that up to 1195 A.D., the suzerainty of Vijayasimha was acknowledged by the feudatory chiefs of Kakaredi, a place which is still existing, under the same name on the borders of the states of Panna and Rewa. This is the latest known inscription and the last known date of Vijayasimhadēva. The object of the inscription incised on this plate is to record the grant of the village of Chhidaudā in the *pattala* of Kūyisavapāḥsa to a number of Brahmanas by the (Rānaka) Sallakshanavarman (son of Kirtivarman who is the donor in the grant of the Kalachūri-Chēdi year 926), who had obtained 'the five great sounds', after having bathed at Kakaredi and worshipped Śiva on Friday the 7th of the dark half of Mārgasīra of the (Vikrama) year 1253 during the reign of the Paramabhattachāraka Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara the lord of the three Kalingas, Vijayadēva<sup>3</sup>.

It is not known how this dynasty came to an end and whether Vijayasimha was succeeded by any other prince at Tripuri. It is stated in the Rewa plates of the Mahārānaka Kumārāpala the grandson of Sallakshanavarman, of V.S. 1297=1240 A.D., that on that date the land to the south of the Tons had passed from the possession of the Chēdis to that of the Chandēllas, as he acknowledges the suzerainty of king Trailōkyavarman of that dynasty<sup>4</sup>. What had happened in the forty-four years intervening between the grants of Sallakshanavarman and his grandson Kumārāpala, we are not yet in a position to state. Jotuga I or Jartrapala, the son and successor of Bhīllama I of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri, is said to have killed the king of Trikāluga<sup>5</sup> and this may be a reference to the death of Vijayasimhadēva, who was certainly a contemporary of this prince because the former's father, Bhīllama I, was reigning in 1191 A.D. and his son Singhamra was reigning from 1207 to 1246 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI, III, pp. 218-19.

<sup>2</sup> It appears that Salakshanavarman was defeated in battle at Kakaredi by Malayasimha some time before 1192 A.D. the date of the Rewa inscription of that prince who was himself a feudatory of Vijayasimha. It is probable that some time between 1192 and 1195 A.D. Salakshanavarman acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayasimha.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XVII, pp. 228-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 231-34.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 316.

<sup>6</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 13.

## CHAPTER II

## The Monuments of the Chēdi Country.

By the expression Chēdi country is meant the ancestral dominions of the Huhayas of Tripura i.e. the land round the country of Dāhla or the modern district of Jubbulpore including that portion of Central India which lies to the south of the river Tons consisting of the modern States of Nagod, Māhar, the eastern part of Panna and the western part of the northern division of the Rewa State. The monuments of this country fall into three broad groups, all of which lie partly in the Indian States mentioned above and in the British district of Jubbulpore. The interesting ruins at Bilhāri in the Murwā sub-division of the Jubbulpore District and the circular temple of the Sixty-four Yoginis called the temple of Cauri Sūndarā at Bhāra ghat in the same district belong to this period of Indian History. There are other temples or rather ruins of temples at Chhoti Dēo, Simra, Rithi, Badgaon, Nand, Chand etc. all in the Murwā sub-division and lying in close proximity to the Bina-Katni section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. In the Rewa State the principal ruins of the Huhaya period are to be found at Curgā twelve miles due east of Rewa town and Chandrehē twenty-nine miles due south of the same place. Scattered ruins have been found as far north as Deotālū, Sixty-one miles north-east of Satna Station and at other places also, but Curgā and Chāndrehē contain the most important remains of the Chēdi period in the Rewa State. In other parts of the Rewa State remains have been discovered at Bhirpur, Amarkantak and Sohāgpur. The temples at these places belong to the later part of the domination of the Chāhā or Huhaya dynasty of Tripura. The activities of the builders of the Chēdi period must now be divided into three different groups or parts. The first part begins from the time of Yuvrajadeva I the grandson of Kollālā I and his son and grand-sons i.e. Jalsimharāja, Samkharaguna and Yuvrajā II. Ruins of this period have been discovered at Guṅgi, Chandrehē, Bilhāri, Bhāra ghat and Chhoti Dēo. The second group belongs to the time of Karmadeva and his immediate predecessor and successor. Ruins of this period have been found at Sohāgpur, Amarkantak, Baijnāth and Marā. Remains of the third group belong to the period of decadence of art in the Chēdi country, the reigns of its last princes i.e. Narasimhadeva Jayasimhadeva and his son Vijayasinghadeva.

The ruins of the first and the earliest period are to be found for the most part in the Rewa State i.e. in the northern part of the country over which the Kings of the Chēdi dynasty ruled. Isolated ruins have been found in the southern part, such as the inscribed pillar of Samkharaguna at Chhoti Dēo in the Jubbulpore District and some portion of the Circular temple of the Sixty-four Yoginis at Bhāra ghat. But ancient remains which are still standing

have been found only at Chandrehe and at Gurgi. At both of these places the majority of monuments are to be ascribed to the period of Yuviraja I. The date of these monuments has been fixed by the inscription discovered at Chandrehe which is still *in situ*, and the inscription removed from Gurgi about a century ago which is now in front of the palace at Rewa.

The remains at Chandrehe consist of a temple of Śiva and a monastery. Both of these monuments were noticed by General Cunningham and Mr. Beglar. But as neither of them could read the inscription, which is built into the front wall of the monastery and which supplies us with the date of the temple, they were totally wrong in their calculations. The inscription is in two parts and is inscribed on two separate slabs. According to this inscription Prabhodhasiva, a Śaiva ascetic of the Mattamayūra clan, had built a monastery in the Kalachuri-Chedi year 724. As the inscription itself is attached to the monastery there cannot be any doubt that it is this very monastery which was built by Prabhodhasiva. The same inscription informs us that the monastery built by Prabhodhasiva lay close to the house of gods built by his spiritual preceptor (*Gurukṛta-saṃgṛahāṇa-matham-unnatam—V 17<sup>1</sup>*). The reference is no doubt to the circular temple of Śiva which stands in front and within ten yards of it. This is a clue sufficient to enable one to deduce the correct date of the temple at Chandrehe about which several conjectures have been hazarded by Cunningham and his assistants. The monastery itself was completed in the Kalachuri-Chedi year 724=972 A.D. Therefore the temple must have been built, about 25 years earlier, *i.e.* approximately about 947 A.D. Now 947 A.D. is equal to 699 of the Kalachuri-Chedi era and in this connection a votive inscription in the temple should be remembered. This mentions a Yogi named Yamja and the numerals 700. Rai Bahadur Hiralal and others are of opinion that his Chandrehe temple bears an inscription which contains the name of a Yogi named *Magasadhaja*<sup>2</sup> and the figures 700. The name of this Yogi and the same numerals have been found at many different places, from which fact Mr. Hiralal rightly concludes that one and the same person cannot have visited all of these places in one and the same year. Whatever be the correct interpretation of these votive inscriptions and the numerals, one fact remains clear that the date of the building of the Chandrehe temple is very close to the figures attached to the name of this Yogi if the numerals are taken to be a year of the Kalachuri-Chedi era<sup>3</sup>. The assignation or the interpretation of this numeral in this votive inscription is certain as the definite statement in the Chandrehe inscription of Prabhodhasiva leaves no doubt the fact that the circular temple at Chandrehe was built about a generation before the monastery itself *i.e.* sometime in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. about the year 700 of the Kalachuri-Chedi era.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix C p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Description of Lists of Ancient Monuments in the C. P. and Berar Nagpur 1916 p. 112.*

<sup>3</sup> The numerals stand for 700 and the temple was built a year or two before the Kalachuri-Chedi year 699 or 947 or 948 A.D.

The structure consists of the *garbhagriha* or the sanctum and a narrow *mandapa* in front of it (Pl I a and b). The carvings on the temple are not very elaborate neither do they compare favourably with the sculptures on the temples at Sohagpur Daynath or Mammr. Yet the temple is deserving of special notice because it is the earliest specimen of the peculiar type of temples evolved in this part of the country during the 10th century A. D. It stands on a broad low platform which is rectangular in form with a narrower projection behind. This platform measures 28 in breadth and 46.6 in length. The plinth the body of the *garbhagriha* as well as the *Sikhara* of this temple are circular. On the rectangular platform stands the *mandapa* and the *antapala*. Beglar who discovered this temple and described it for the first time, noticed that it was unique in type. The temple stands on a raised terrace—the terrace however appears to me to be a later addition inasmuch as it is built of materials evidently taken from some other ruined structures and I believe if it could be removed we would find the basement mouldings of the temple extend down a considerable distance and greatly add to the dignity and ornateness of the temple. Supposing then this terrace removed the temple would rise out from the ground level or very near it and look much taller than it does. The floor of the temple internally is much higher either than the ground level or the level of the terrace and would have necessitated the existence of a flight of steps in front which would be no small addition to its dignity as it now stands. The temple though elegant is dwarfed firstly by the actual amount of height taken off by the platform and still more in appearance by the height of the platform which is not only greater in proportion to its horizontal dimensions than is pleasing but is greater in proportion to the visible height of the temple on it than its proper subordination to the temple renders necessary and consequently instead of enhancing as it ought to have if it formed part of the original design it detracts not a little from the dignity of the chief object. On these grounds then independently of its being built of materials from other ruins I do not hesitate to consider it an after addition.

In plan the temple is unique the sanctum is circular externally as well as internally the external circle being unbroken into projecting angles and recessed niches as is usual in temples generally nevertheless though wanting in the alternations of light and shade peculiar to these temples it has broader though less pronounced shadows due to the curve of the sanctum and the half tints thus introduced in broad masses is at least as pleasing especially in sunlight as the more violent though infinitely varied alternations in the generalities of temples without sunlight it is somewhat deficient in relief it is indeed the only example of its kind I have either seen or heard of and its beauty makes it deserving of study in the absence of the bold angular radial projections which render temples of the Tadpa and Mahola type so exquisitely beautiful from the existence not merely of alternations of light and shadow as in the examples at Khajuraho, but of graduated *intensity of shadow* in the alternations due to the varying angles at which light falls on the *radially*

ranged projections the deepest shadows here are secured by chiselling out the lower portion of the tower above the basement mouldings into pilasters, with deep sunk narrow intervals crowned by a bold and deep cornice and mouldings and the upper portion of the tower is also formed into a number of facets separated similarly from each other by deep lines running continuously up to the crowning amalaka. In addition to this, the facets are elaborately sculptured in the style of the Tana temple at Khajuraho and altogether the exterior presents an appearance in which there is not much fault to be found the plain pilasters only need the boldly executed statues of Khajuraho to render this temple as rich in sculptured beauty as they. The temple faces west, and is *Sayru*. It has a *mandapa* a *mahamandapa* an *antirala* and a *sanctum*.<sup>1</sup> Beglar noticed that the exterior of the *garbhagriha* was divided into a number of square pilasters by chiselling out intermediate spaces between them. The rim of the *sikharika* seems to have been to represent the temple as being supported by a circular row of pilasters. Just above the round moulding of the face there is a circular row of square pedestals on which these pilasters stand. The shafts are perfectly plain except at two thirds of the height from the bottom where there is a projection shaped as a cornice with lotus petals. Over the top is another broad projection square in section along the edge of which is a row of *Lotimulhas*. The plain square capital is shallow but very pleasing. Each of these capitals support a portion of the circular *sikhara*. The entire *sikhara* is covered with vertical bands of the *chaitya* window-pattern which terminate in a single triangular *chaitya* window. The artist has fashioned out the *sikhara* in such a way that each of the false pilasters carved out of the body of the *garbhagriha* appears to be bearing the weight of a section of the *sikhara* which itself is slightly convex in shape. This delusion is due to a series of vertical sunken lines which appear on the exterior of the *sikhara*. The stumpy appearance of the *sikhara* is also due to the low position of the *amalaka* which has been placed rather too near the apex of the *chaitya* window pattern ornamentations. In the earlier Khajuraho temples the elegant appearance of the *sikhara* is due to the position of the *amalaka* which in this particular case might have been raised a little higher and reduced slightly in size. The Chandrehe temple looks somewhat like a truncated cone on account of the low position of its *amalaka*. In front of the *sikhara* just over the *antirala* there is a pyramidal structure which is a peculiar feature of all temples in this part of the country. It has been found in the temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi as well as in the southern group of temples at Amalkantak and Sohagpur.<sup>2</sup> This pyramidal structure partly leans on the *sikhara* and consists of a large *chaitya* window on the top of the pyramid with a circular sunken medallion in its centre which is often empty. Below the top *chaitya* window there are one or more *chaitya* windows in front or on the sides and below this a number of sunken panels either empty or containing rosettes on the three sides on the pyramid. In the case of the Chandrehe

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Antiquary and Survey Reports* Vol. XIII pp 78

<sup>2</sup> A similar feature is to be seen in some of the Western Chalukyan temples of the Bombay Presidency especially the one near Gokak falls in the Belgaum District.

temple there is a large *chariya* window on the top with a circular medallion in its centre. This medallion contains the bust of a four-headed deity. Just below it there is a much smaller *chariya* window also with a circular medallion in its centre which contains another bust. Below this there are two miniature temples on either side of the pyramid and in front a single sunken panel flanked by pilasters and another similar sunken panel on each side on recessed corners. The sides of the *antarala* both inside and outside are perfectly plain and are constructed in narrow courses of ashlar masonry. The *mandapa* itself is open in front but the sides are enclosed by parapet walls in the shape of high benches with backrests the backs of which are carved to represent a row of vertical panels placed between circular pilasters. The pilasters of the dado support a vase at the top and have a similar vase at the bottom and an undulating creeper decoration on the shaft. The sunken panels contain arabesque work. Two pillars and a pilaster stand on each side of the *mandapa* being supported on the stone slabs of the bench. These pillars and pilasters are square in shape and carry plain cruciform capitals which support the lintels which are carved with a similar undulating creeper pattern as the shafts above mentioned. The roof of the *mandapa* is tripartite and its exterior is sloped as a pyramid. A narrow but graceful *akhaya* runs along three sides of the *mandapa*. To the north of the *garbhagriha* is a gargoyle shaped like the head of a *nalaka* through which water escapes from the interior of the *garbhagriha*. The interior of the *garbhagriha* itself is quite plain and circular. A flight of steps in front of the platform on which the temple stands leads from the ground level to that of the platform. These steps appear to have been repaired at some later date. They are eight in number and at present are very much out of repair. Another series of six steps leads from the level of the platform to the level of the *garbhagriha*. A group of sculptures some Jain and some Brahmanical lie in front and inside the *mandapa*. Beglar was certainly mistaken or rather misled by the various repairs at different times to this platform in stating that the platform is later in date than the temple. The rear part of the platform most certainly belongs to the same date as the temple itself. The lines of ornamentations were probably never finished and carved stones from some other structure were used at two different dates to repair the rectangular part of the platform. This temple was certainly unique at the date of its discovery by Beglar (1875-76). During the succeeding half a century no other temple of this peculiar type has come to light in Northern India except one other specimen namely that at Gurgi in the Rewa State, which was first noticed in April 1920. Garrick who visited Gurgi six years after the visit of Beglar to Chandrehe mentions a tall temple on the eastern bank of a tank named Bharsa pokar.<sup>1</sup> But evidently this is not the temple which was discovered in April 1920 because Garrick does not mention that it is of the same type as the Chandrehe temple or that it is circular in shape. The temple at Gurgi is unfortunately not so well preserved as the temple at Chandrehe. It will be described below along with the other antiquaries of that place.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Archæological Survey Reports* Vol. XIX p. 88

The only other building at Chandrehe of considerable antiquity is the monastery (Pl II a and b). It stands very close to the temple described above and was constructed by the abbot Prabodhasiva in 972 A.D. The inscription does not mention the name of the king reigning at that time but most probably this date falls within the reign of Lakshmananagar or Yuvrajadeva II. Beglar who visited and described this monument for the first time recognised it as a monastery. It is a great pity that he did not prepare any plan of this monument at the time of his visit when it was in a much better condition than at present. He states it is much to be regretted that the building is not in sufficiently good preservation to furnish accurate plans and drawings, to enable every detail of its construction and arrangement to be fully made out. In general terms the building consisted of a central open paved courtyard on all sides of which ran rows of pillars. All the sides do not however appear to have been similar some having but one row of pillars and a row of pilasters forming a sort of verandah running the whole length while others have two and even three rows of pillars some running the whole length of its side forming pillared halls rather than verandahs. Behind the line of pillars on each side are rooms many of them plain some small some large but some also with elaborately sculptured entrances and elegant large carefully constructed roofs with the architraves and the overlapping and intersecting courses of slabs ornamented with sculpture, one of the corner rooms in particular is especially remarkable for the size and elegance of its roof underneath some if not all the rooms are vaults—if vaults they may be called—which have no true vaulted roofs these are quite dark and are below the ground level outside.<sup>1</sup>

Further remarks made by Beglar prove that he had conceived the plan of the building correctly. Externally it appears to have been nearly a square of more than 100 feet each way. On the side of the temple a portico projects beyond the face of the building this is supported on dwarf pillars the dwarf pillars resting on benches with sloping backrests as in the window seats of temples and was evidently meant as a place where people coming either for business or as visitors might sit down comfortably and discuss the news of the day. One small entrance behind the portico with pavatis sculptured over it gave access to the interior opening first into a long passage leading to the verandah round the inner courtyard from which every room in the building is accessible most of them opening directly into it. On another face of the square externally exist the ruins of an open verandah supported on tall round pillars which have fallen down long ago. Behind this external verandah was a large room which may reasonably be assumed to have been the reception room. On the other sides there appear no traces either of doors or porticos or projections of any kind. The main building appears to have been two storeyed the projecting portico was not however two storeyed at least no remains of a second storey exist over it the upper storey has for the most part tumbled down but enough remained to enable me to obtain a section through both show

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XIII, p. 9

ing a profile of the very elegant façade presented on each side to the spectator. From the inner courtyard externally the façade appears to have been not merely plain but positively as ugly as a huge unbroken plain stone wall of the entire height of the lower storey could make it except on the side which had the reception room and pillared verandah in front and the side where the great portico projected from the face of the building and which was further ornamented by a narrow verandah running along a part of the face supported by a row of plain square small pillars in front and pilasters abutting against the plain blank wall behind. The upper storey however, did not present a plain blank wall externally for here the outer walls were pierced at frequent intervals by doors and windows letting in plenty of light and air and removing it entirely from the class of native buildings which became the fashion not long after where every care is taken to allow the inmates to see as little of the world outside as is possible. On the whole this building is a very favourable specimen of Hindu civil or domestic architecture. The roofs are all flat the largest room which is over 16 feet square is roofed by cutting off the corners to form an octagon which again supports a smaller square and this square is slabbed over the roofing slabs are often 12 feet long more than 2 feet in width and 10 inches deep they are laid in two layers one across the other the material is a fine closegrained sandstone of two colours greyish and purplish bricks appear to have been used in the roofs of the second storey in addition to stone but very sparingly.<sup>1</sup>

The building has suffered much since Beglar's visit fifty two years ago and a number of rooms, on the right and left of the monastery have collapsed all together. The dense growth of bomboos referred to in his report has however disappeared entirely and the ruins are now covered sparsely with brush wood. The monastery (Plate II) consisted of an open porch and a verandah in front with a narrow passage leading to the courtyard in the centre. This courtyard is surrounded on all sides by a plain but narrow verandah supported on stone pillars. A number of stone doorways some of which are fitted with carved door frames lead into a number of chambers some of which were used as dormitories while others were utilised as shrines. The building was partly double storied. The front wing consisted of a single storey while the right wing and the back were double storied. It faces the north on which face there is a porch similar to some of the temples at Khajuraha and elsewhere. The porch is provided with broad benches with backrests on three sides. The space under the bench outside is carved like the dados of the porches of *ardha mandapas* of the Khajuraha temples. As in the case of the dado of the *nandapa* of the temple described above this dado also consists of a number of small narrow vertical panels alternately sunk. Behind this open porch there is an open verandah in front of the monastery supported by columns. Both ends of this verandah have collapsed. At present there are nine columns in position in this verandah four of which are grouped in pairs behind the porch. The porch itself is supported by four short but heavy columns in front which stand on

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* pp 10 17



the benches but among these the one at the eastern end has fallen down. Built in the wall of the verandah are the two slabs bearing the inscription which records the erection of this monastery by the Sarva abbot Prabodhasiva.<sup>1</sup> Central with the porch in the back wall of the verandah is a doorway with a carved stone door frame which leads to a small narrow passage giving access to the interior of the monastery. Carved on the left jamb of the door frame is a fierce looking male who is evidently Bhairava. To his right Yamuna is standing under some foliage with a female attendant figure on her left. Hanging from the foliage over the head of the goddess is a male with hands clasped in adoration. There is also a dwarfish figure on the right near the leg of Yamuna. Ganges stands on the right jamb with another dwarfish figure, with a vase on its head to her left. She stands on the head of a *makara*. On Ganges's right is the figure of a female attendant and that of a male perhaps a *Sivagina*. The remainder of the jamb is quite plain. There are three projecting brackets on the lintel in the centre of which is the figure of Siva dancing. The side brackets bear a standing female figure with adorning attendants kneeling on each side. The central bracket also has kneeling figures of attendants on both sides of the figure of Siva. This door leads as stated above to a small chamber which is in reality a passage to the courtyard in the centre of the monastery. To the east of this passage there is a square chamber beneath which is one of the vaults referred to in Beglar's description. In April 1920 this chamber was full of snakes and scorpions. At the north-eastern corner of the monastery is a large room measuring 15' 4" square which is fitted with a carved door frame. We find Yamuna and Bhairava carved on the left jamb the latter of whom holds a skull mace (*Khatvanga*) and a skull cup (*Kapala*) in his hands. There are small attendant female figures to the left of Yamuna. To her right a male is standing with a mace while over his head is the figure of Naga. On the right jamb is the figure of Ganges and to her left a male standing with a mace. A small attendant figure is visible to her right and another male with a mace is standing by her side. On the lintel there are three brackets on the central one of which is Ganesa seated on an embroidered cushion with a rat to his left (Pl. III a). He has four hands and holds a lotus and a round object in the two left while in one of his right hands he holds a battleaxe and in the other there is a vessel full of sweets (*modaka*). On the left bracket goddess Lakshmi with four hands is seated holding a lotus in one of the left hands, while the other is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya*). One of the right hands is broken the second one holds a *lambadalu*. The bracket on the right bears a figure of Sarasvat, also seated. She has four hands in two of which she holds a lyre (*vina*). One left hand is broken but she catches up the fringe of her garment with the other right hand. In the eastern wall of this chamber is an opening which perhaps led to a porch or to a second entrance to the monastery. There is also a small door leading to a small plain apartment on the south this being the second room in the eastern wing as it is not provided

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix C pp. 117-22

with a doorway through which one may enter it from the courtyard or verandah. It may have been used as a store room. The porch on the east has fallen down and its remains are strewn on the ground. The south east corner of the large room mentioned above has also collapsed. Again to the south of this large apartment are two other plain chambers in a ruinous condition the southern one of which is entered by a plain stone doorway in the eastern wall. To the south of this there is a comparatively larger chamber measuring 11' 4" x 7' 4", the jambs of the doorway of which are plain but there are three brackets on the lintel. In the central one two ascetics stand wearing large round head dresses one facing the front while the other on his left is facing the right. Traces of a third figure on the right are discernible on the bracket (Pl IV b). The bracket on the left bears on it a female figure with four hands standing with lotus in her upper left while the lower is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya*). One of the right hands is broken but the other holds a *Kanardalu*. A male attendant stands to the left while to the right is a lion couchant. On the right bracket Saraswati is standing holding a lyre in two of her hands while the remaining left is broken. In the remaining right hand the goddess holds a lotus. The diminutive figure of a female attendant is to be found standing with a garland on each side of the main figure. This chamber is in fact the last on the eastern side because the square room in the south eastern corner of the monastery is not provided with an entrance through which it can be entered directly from the verandah. The corner room is entered through the second room on the southern side of the monastery. The verandah on the eastern side of the courtyard is wider than that of any other side and is the pillared hall referred to by Beglar measuring 35' 6" x 16' 8". Its roof is supported by two rows of three pillars and three pilasters on the southern side. A plain doorway leads to the second chamber which has openings in its eastern and northern walls. The opening in the eastern wall leads to a room measuring 12' 8" x 11' 2" in the south eastern corner of the monastery. In this room there are pilasters along the walls to support the additional weight of the roof. The centre of the southern wing is occupied by another chamber rectangular in shape measuring 10' 9" x 10' 3" the entrance to which is obtained from the verandah. The doorway is fitted with a carved stone door frame which is exactly similar to the door frame of the large chamber in the north eastern corner (Pl III b). There are three rooms in the western side of the south wing but they can only be entered through the western block. The three rooms in question have almost entirely collapsed. There is only one opening from the eastern verandah to the rooms behind it and this entrance leads to a long narrow passage which has single openings in the northern and southern walls and four more in its western wall. The doorway in the southern wall opens into a square chamber which is the last-but one room in the southern wing of the monastery and an opening in the eastern wall of this chamber leads to a rectangular plain chamber to its east. The south western corner of the monastery is occupied by another room of about the same size access to which is obtained through the southernmost of the four narrow cells, which occupy the area between the passage to the west

of the verandah and the outside western wall. The north western corner of the monastery is occupied by a large square chamber only a little smaller than the big chamber in the north eastern corner. The space on the northern side between the large square chamber in the north western corner and the entrance passage is occupied by two small rectangular rooms measuring  $9 \times 6 \cdot 2$  and  $8' 6 \times 6$ . The chamber in the north western corner is approached through the doorway in the northern wall of the passage of the western side. The small rooms to the east of this corner chamber are entered by a single doorway in the northern wall of the courtyard and an opening leading from the western one of these two chambers provides access to that to its east.

The upper floor, originally seems to have consisted of a verandah, running along the sides of the courtyard and built over the verandah on the ground floor. In April 1920 this verandah with a door at the south western corner, existed on the western and southern sides only. There is a broad but low seat provided with backrests running along the edge of this verandah. Possibly there were three doors on the western and southern sides but only one exists at present. The door on the west leads to a long chamber the back wall of which has collapsed. There is also a door in the northern wall of this chamber which goes to show that there was another chamber on the upper floor in the north western corner of the building. The door in the south wall is also plain but the chamber to which it leads has collapsed. A sloping cornice or *chhajja* runs all round the verandah on the interior and is exactly similar to the ribbed *chhajja* in the Brahmanical monastery at Survaya in the Gwahar State. Inside the courtyard are some picturesque gargoyles shaped as dwarfs turning somersaults in the air (Pl IV a). The rain water escapes through the mouths of these dwarfs.

It will be observed from the above description of the monastery that there were two classes of chambers in this building. In the first class the door frames are perfectly plain while in the second, these door frames are carved and the jumbs and lintels bear representations of gods and goddesses, as well as of semi-divine beings. Door frames of the latter class were fitted to chambers which were devoted to worship or used as shrines while those with plain door frames were used either as dormitories or store rooms. It is uncertain for what purpose the upper storey was utilised as at the present day, chambers built over chambers which are in use as shrines cannot be used as living rooms, by Hindus let alone even Sannyasis. Most probably the upper storey was either a library or school room for the training of novices. On the ground floor the four narrow cells on the western side of the courtyard, were in all probability reserved for those ascetics who were not inclined to mix with their brethren and desired seclusion for meditation without disturbance. The monastery has been built throughout of a reddish finegrained sandstone like Kashmir sandstone. The masonry is regularly coursed ashlar without mortar. The corners of most of the stones on the surface both inside and outside are crushed most probably on account of the expansion of the surface during the extreme

heat of the summer. Similar symptoms have been observed in the ruined temple of Kamakandala at Bilhari<sup>1</sup> in the Jubbulpore District as well as in the unfinished Vaishnava temple on the mound at Nemawar in the Indore State<sup>2</sup>.

Other remains belonging to the first period of the rule of the Chedi kings have been discovered at Gurgi 12 miles due east of Rewa Town. The ruins at this place have been investigated at different times, by members of the older Archaeological Survey, established by Sir Alexander Cunningham. The first person to survey it was Mr H. W. B. Garrick, who visited it in 1881-82. Mr Garrick's account of the vast ruins is very meagre and hardly intelligible<sup>3</sup>. Fortunately Sir Alexander Cunningham visited the ruins of Gurgi Masau four years later, in 1884-85, and his description is the best that is available<sup>4</sup>. Both of them, however, failed to notice or at any rate to draw attention to the existence of a temple of the peculiar circular type the first example of which was discovered by Beglar at Chandreke. This temple is the only ancient structure which is still standing within the vast ruins at Gurgi. They also failed to notice the inscription embedded in front of the palace walls at Rewa, which, according to the statement of Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janki Prasad, formerly Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Rewa, was brought from Gurgi about half a century ago. The ruins at Gurgi fall into three well defined different groups. The first of these is the enclosure called Reluta, which contains the ruins of a number of temples and is generally known to have been built by Rājā Kāran Daharīya i. e. Rājā Kārma of Dāhala. The second group is the large artificial mound called Gurgaj. And the third consists of the newly discovered circular temple in Masau village and the ruins of smaller temples on the banks of the tanks. In addition to these may be mentioned thousands of images that have been removed to Gurgi, to Rewa to Gurl and other surrounding villages from the ruins at this place.

In order to understand the date and the nature of the ruins at Gurgi, it will be necessary in the first place to recapitulate the contents of the Gurgi inscription of Pralodhasiva which was removed from Gurgi to the Palace at Rewa half a century ago<sup>5</sup>. This inscription is not dated and it does not contain reference to any of the reigning kings. But some of the older kings of the Chedi dynasty such as Kākhaladeva and Yuvarajadēva, are mentioned in the first and in the second part of the inscription. It falls into two different parts. The first part is in verse and provides us with the spiritual genealogy of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan, which is discussed in Chapter IV. The second part is partly in prose and provides us with the names of some of the kings of

<sup>1</sup> See below pp. 46-48.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1921* pp. 102-06, paras 75-78 pl. XXVII.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports* Vol. XIX p. 85-90.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI pp. 119-54.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix C pp. 122-26.

the Chēdi dynasty and a short account of their reigns. This part however, ends with a list of the properties belonging to the Saiva abbots of the Mattamayūra clan. Thus, the Gurgi inscription is a close parallel to the Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chēdi where also a list of Chēdi kings and a list of Saiva ascetics of the Mattamayura clan, who were brought by the rulers of the Chēdi country, at different times, from Western India to Uilala, are to be found. The second part, or rather the last lines of it contain a list of benefactions received by the Saiva ascetics from the kings of the Chēdi country. This inscription is not dated like the Chandrehe inscription, nor is there any reference to any ruling king of the Chēdi country, but its date can be guessed from the mention of Kokkalla II as the last prince in the genealogical portion and the reference to the conquest of Vanavāsa in the Kuntala country. The date of the Gurgi inscription can also be deduced by a reference to the Chandrehe inscription of the same person which was incised in the Kalachūm Chēdi year 724/972 A.D. The inscription provides us with an account of the spiritual descent of the abbot Prabhūhasiva, who was a disciple's disciple of the abbot Prabhāvasiva who was brought to the Chēdi country by Yuvarājadēva, son of Mugdhatunga, by Yuvarājadēva I. Prabhūhasiva can therefore be safely recognised as a contemporary of the kings Kokkalla II and Gāngēyadēva, while his spiritual preceptor, the abbot Prasāntasiva can be taken to be the contemporary of the kings Lakshmanarāja, the son and successor of Yuvarāja I, and his son Sankarigana.

In this account, the poet has provided a list of public works initiated by the abbot Prasāntasiva. In the first place, it is stated in verse 10 that Prasāntasiva built a temple of Śivara or Mahidēva close to the very high temple of Śiva built by Yuvarājadēva. It is therefore certain that a very high temple of Śiva existed at Gurgi and that a temple of Śiva was built close to it by the abbot Prasāntasiva. In the next verse (v. 11) it is stated that the abbot Prasāntasiva installed a number of images, in the smaller temples close to the bigger temple (*Prasada-sannihata deva grihēṣu*). Now this may refer to a number of small temples built around the larger temple erected by Prasāntasiva or that Prasāntasiva had built a number of smaller shrines around the tall temple erected by Yuvarājadēva. The images dedicated by Prasāntasiva around one of these temples have been enumerated in the Gurgi inscription and are — Uma, Śiva with Umā Kārtalēya, Ganapati and Sarasvatī. Cunningham saw two huge images, one of Śiva and Durgā and the other of a seated female deity half way up the mound, covered with the ruins of temples, which is now called Gurgaj. The second female image can be identified as Padumā which is referred to in the Gurgi inscription. It may therefore be assumed that the abbot Prasāntasiva had installed these images around the temple which once stood at the top of the Gurgaj mound. This mound is conical being most probably artificial, and still rises about 60 to 70 feet above from the level of the surrounding ground. Cunningham says "The great mound of temple ruins, called Gurgaj, is about 1200 feet square, and from 10 to 15 feet in height. It is a more confused mass of rough stones, the whole of the squared stones having

been carried away to Rewa within the last twenty years by the Dewan of the late Maharaja. The sites of two large temples are now marked by deep pits and the overturned colossal figures which were once enshrined inside.

On the east side of the mound there is a colossal figure of a four armed goddess 9' 3" high and 4' 7" broad seated on a lion. The right leg hangs down, but the left leg is drawn up and rests on the lion. This figure is called Devi and is no doubt intended for the goddess Durga whose *rahan* is a lion.

On the north west of the mound there is a still larger sculpture of Hara-gauri or Siva and Parvati lying on its face above a deep hole. The slab is 12' 8" long by 5' 3" broad. At the foot is the bull Nandi. The figures are partly cut clear. The great toran gateway in front of the Raja's Palace at Rewa is said to have stood in front of this temple facing the east. If the temple which occupies this mound bore any proportion to the size of the colossal figures which they enshrined they must have been of considerable size—certainly not less than 100 feet in height. I could not ascertain whether the temples had completely fallen down when the stones were removed but all the people agreed that they were in ruins. No traces of any inscription in fact not even a single letter, could be found on this site.<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's account provides another important piece of information about the nature of the ruins on the Gurgaj mound namely that the great *torana* standing in front of the Palace at Rewa was originally found at the top of the Gurgaj mound. Now this *torana* bears on its upper lintel a long bas relief representing the procession of the gods going to the house of Himalaya the marriage of Siva with Parvati the daughter of Himalaya and the return of the bride and bridegroom on the back of Siva's bull Nandin to Siva's own abode. This bas relief which is described in the next chapter indicates very clearly that the *torana* stood in front of a temple of Siva. When Gurga was visited in April 1920 the villagers pointed out the very pit from which the jambs of the great *torana* were excavated. This pit lies very near the summit and therefore it is clear that the temple of Siva in front of which this *torana* stood was built on the top of this artificial mound. The Gurga inscription of Prabhudhishiva states that Yuvarajadeva had built a very tall temple of Siva the spire of which aspired to be as high as the Kalāsa mountain (v. 10). Allowing for poetical license one cannot but be struck by the great height of the mound and the height of the images found on it indicating as Cunningham remarked correctly that the structure in which they were enshrined must have been about 100 feet in height. The height of the top of the *śikhara* of this temple when it was intact must have been a good 100 feet above the surrounding ground level. Cunningham was certainly mistaken however in taking the present height of this mound to be 10 feet to 15 feet only. The mound is conical in shape and is surrounded by at least two terraces (Pl. V b). From the highest of these terraces the top of the mound on which a modern shrine has been built is about 25 to 30 feet in height.

Garrick most probably wrote his account of Gurga Masn when he had almost forgotten the actual details. He found traces of a level flooring on the

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Archaeological Survey Reports Vol. XXI pp. 141-52*

summit of the Gurgaj mound and he states that a conical hill further to the south west still exhibits traces of a level flooring on its summit, from which a fine view can be had of the neighbouring country. This is said to have been a promenade for the former rulers of the place.<sup>1</sup> Now the Gurgaj mound is the only mound to which this description can be correctly applied, there being no other mound opposite of great height within the limit of Gurga village. Yet on an earlier page Garrick states that the sculptures of Siva and Durgā and of Dēvi, which Cunningham and others found at Gurgaj Mound, were found by him in the palace ruins. He also states that "it was from these remains that the gateway now at Rewa was exhumed".<sup>2</sup> About twenty feet below the highest terrace a second terrace can be discerned with difficulty, as the accumulation of debris on it and along the base of the entire mound has turned it into a slope. The surrounding ground level, however, is much lower than the second terrace. The site of the temple of Siva built by Yuvarājadēva can safely be identified, on the evidences mentioned above, with the ruins on Gurgaj mound. It is not known which Yuvarājadēva built this temple. Evidently he was Yuvarāja I, who had brought Prasāntasiva's spiritual preceptor Prabhāvasiva to the country of Dāhala.

The enclosure called Rehuta Fort, which has been ascribed by Cunningham and others to King Karṇa of Dāhala, appears to have been a remarkably large enclosure containing temples (Pl. V, a). The surrounding wall, which still exists at different places, is an irregular rectangle in shape and does not seem to consist of fortifications.<sup>3</sup> In the first place there are no traces of any moats in front of the wall or any towers along the entire length. The nature of the ruins inside can no longer be judged as every vestige of buildings inside has been removed since Cunningham's visit in 1884-85. Even the sculptures and images have been taken away. It is possible, however, that this enclosure contained a temple and a monastery and may have belonged to the Mattamayura ascetics, who had certainly become very powerful landlords in this country by the end of the tenth century A.D.

All round the Gurgaj mound, at Gurgi, there are numerous tanks, some of which have stone paved embankments while others are surrounded by steps built of stone. While going from Gurgaj to the neighbouring village of Masan or Masaun, foundations of two stone built temples were found on the dam of one of these tanks. Similarly, on the road from Rehuta to the Gurgaj mound, there are foundations of two more temples. The ruins of a temple of the circular type were found on the bank of a tank very close to the village of Masaun (Pl. VI, a and b). This temple is the second example of this type of temples, the first specimen of which was discovered by Egler at Chandrehe. In plan it is very similar to the temple at Chandrehe but there is no platform under it and if there had been one it has either disappeared or is buried underground.

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Survey Reports Vol XIX p 98*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid p 88*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid, Vol XXI pl LXXV*

Some traces of what may have been a platform may be discerned in front but this masonry may also have formed part of the embankment of the tank on the bank of which the temple stands. This temple like the temple at Chandiche faces the west and consists of a circular *garbhagriha* and an open verandah or *mandapa* in front. The body of the *garbhagriha* is constructed of regularly coursed ashlar masonry and the exterior is divided into a number of square pilasters like the Chandrehe temple. The outside as well as the inside of the *garbhagriha* is circular as in the case of the Chandrehe temple. The *mandapa* in front is supported by two rows of four columns of which two columns are grouped together in front of each row. The remaining two pillars stand apart the hindmost being in fact a pilaster standing against the masonry of the *antarala*. These columns stand on broad benches which themselves are supported by short thicker pillars. A row of steps five or six in number lead from the ground level to the level of the *mandapa*. This temple has suffered much in comparison with the Chandrehe temple as it has lost its *śikhara* the whole having collapsed with the exception of the little gable shaped projection in front. In this projection there are three separate tiers of masonry. On the topmost tier are the remains of a fine *claustra* window like that at Chandrehe and below it are three panels containing three diamond shaped rosettes each divided from the other by a pilaster. In the third or bottom row also are to be found three rosettes central one on a projection and the side ones on the recessed corners each flanked by a couple of pilasters. The roof of the *mandapa* is not pyramidal like the temple at Chandrehe but is constructed of plain slabs. A plain ribbed *chhajja* runs along three sides of the *mandapa*. The projection in front of this temple appears to be a characteristic of temples of Central India at this time. It appears in almost all temples discovered of the Chedi period, for example at Chandrehe Gurga Amarkantak and Sohagpur. It has also been found in some of the temples at Khajuraho as for instance in front of the *śikhara* of the temple of Devi Jagadamba (Pl. XVII a) and also the temples of Chatro-la-patra (Pl. XVII b).<sup>1</sup> Kandanya Mahadeva Nandigana Chaturbhuj, Vaman and Visvanatha.

So far as is known temples with circular *garbhagrihas* have not been discovered outside the radius of the Chedi kingdom. This particular type may therefore be called the Chedi type of mediæval temples. It seems to have been designed by the architects employed by the Śaiva ascetics of the Maṭṭamayūra sect in the country of Dahala. On account of its resemblance to the Chandrehe temple the Gurga temple may be assigned to the same period. It is also quite probable that this circular temple at Gurga is the very temple of Śiva which according to the statement in the Gurga inscription was built by the abbot Prasantasiva close to the tall temple of Śiva built by King Yuvaraja I. The outer diameter of the *garbhagriha* is 16 while that of the Gurga temple is 17.3 while the inner diameter of both the temples is 10. The length of the *mandapa* in front of the circular *garbhagriha* is 16.6 and 19 while that of the *antarala* between is 2.6 and 2.10.

<sup>1</sup> Also called temple of Chitragnpta



The Bilhari inscription of the rulers of Chedi leaves no doubt as to the fact that the monastery of Nauhalesvara existed at some time at Bilhari. Enquiries made at Bilhari in April 1922 elicited the fact that the big inscription which was taken away to Nagpur from Bilhar was discovered on the bank of the great tank called Lakshmanasagara (Pl VII a). On the eastern bank of this tank a fortress was built by some Rajput chief from the ruins of a medæval building which was utilised as a quarry. Even to day among the ruins of this fortress sculptures and other carvings of the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. are to be found and according to the Malguzar of Bilhari the big inscription was found among these ruins. It is therefore quite probable that the fortress was erected on the site of the monastery called Nauhalesvara after the lady Nohala and that its materials were utilised at the time of the building of the fortress. The tank itself appears to have been excavated by Lakshmanaraja the son of Yuvaraja I. The Bilhari inscription also proved that a second monastery known as the monastery of Vaidyanatha was built by Lakshmanaraja or his father Yuvaraja I. Lakshmanaraja made the ascetic Hindayasiva accept this monastery after having brought him to the country of Dahala. Enquiries were made at Bilhari but no temple of Śiva called Vaidyanatha could be found. The present Malguzar of Bilhari an old man of sixty who knows the village and its surroundings thoroughly was of opinion that the old names have all been forgotten and new names have been substituted for them in recent times therefore it would be practically useless to attempt to identify the ancient names at the present day. Extensive ruins have been discovered on the banks of a huge tank at Baijnath nine miles from Rewa on the great Deccan road leading from Calcutta to Bombay<sup>1</sup> and the monastery of Vaidyanatha may have stood at this place. At present at Baijnath the ruins of only one temple are visible and this appears to have been built later than the circular temples at Chandreh and Gurgi.

The only other temple which belongs to the earliest period of the rule of the Chedi kings is the temple of Kamalandala about two miles from the modern village of Bilhari (Pl VII b). The ruins at this place are taken to be the palace of a courtesan named Kamakandala according to modern tradition. The remains however are those of a temple of Śiva and were recognised as such by Cunningham about half a century ago. Cunningham's measurements and drawings are however incorrect. The temple stands on the bank of a huge tank lined with stone steps which was entirely dry in April 1922. On the eastern bank lies a low hill which is called Patparapathar or tableland and the temple stands on the edge of this tableland very close to the tank. Like the temples of Chandreh and Gurgi it faces the west. It was built on a stone platform which is now entirely covered with the ruins of the *nanapa* and the *garbha-grāha*. This platform measures approximately 91 m. length and 47 m. breadth and there is a projection in front 18 m. length where the steps leading from the ground to the level of the platform at one time existed. In shape the

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Survey Reports Vol. XXV pp. 154-55*

platform is roughly rectangular though just at the point where the *mandapa* met the *garbhagriha* there is an increase in the breadth. But the breadth of the platform, at the place where the *garbhagriha* stood is the same as that of the place where the *mandapa* now stands. It is however perfectly clear that this temple had a square *garbhagriha* and not a circular one like the temples of Chandrehe and Gurgi. The *garbhagriha* which is now entirely covered up by huge pieces of the *avaloka* which once crowned the *śīlāra*, was built of ashlar masonry, the inner facing of which can still be traced (Pl VIII b). In addition to the walls the roof of the *garbhagriha* was supported by pilasters one of which is still in position and is nine feet in height from the base to the top. The shaft of this pilaster is octagonal and fluted, with the cham and lotus pattern on each of the flutings and there is a vase with overhanging foliage at the corners, both at the top and the bottom. In addition to these ornaments each pilaster is flanked by a row of lotus petals.

Only a portion of the *mandapa* is now standing and the remains consist of four monolithic columns and six masonry pilasters. They now stand in the form of a cross which has lost one of its limbs. The four columns stand in the centre while the six pilasters stand at the extremities one pair standing at each extremity of each of the three remaining limbs of the cross. It is quite probable that the *mandapa* was square in shape and its exterior walls were of ashlar masonry like the *garbhagriha*. This in fact is what Cunningham had proposed in his plan of this temple.<sup>1</sup> The four columns in the centre support four lintels over which has been laid another frame work octagonal in shape cutting off the four corners and this carried the trabeate dome over this portion. All the columns and pilasters now standing support lintels. On the southern side of the *mandapa* there is a small lintel on two shorter pilasters below the larger lintel supported by the tall pilasters of ashlar masonry (Pl VIII, a). This side of the *mandapa* was probably entered from a small porch similar to those to be found in the Khajuraho temples and in the temple at Sohagpur. In the *garbhagriha* the *linga* is still in position on a cracked square *arghapatta*. The shaft of the *linga* is circular at the top and octagonal at the bottom, the latter portion being sunk in the *arghapatta*. The circular portion of the *linga* measures 1.5" in height and the *arghapatta* which is square in shape measures 4 on each side. The northern portion however is shaped like a drum. No data are available for judging the correct date of the temple of Kamakandala and it is quite possible that this temple belongs to the same date as Karna's temple at Amarantak, i.e. to the eleventh century and not to the tenth.

There are two ruined temples at Bargaon eight miles north of Rathi Station on the Katm Bina Section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, one of these temples has collapsed entirely and nothing remains of it but a heap of stones. The other temple is still partly standing. Like the temple of Kamakandala at Bilhari the *garbhagriha* of this temple has fallen but the columns of the *mandapa* are still standing in their original positions (Pl IX a and b). From

<sup>1</sup> Archaeological Survey Reports Vol IX pl VII

the sculptures lying scattered on all sides it appears that the *Sikhara* was decorated with the *chariya* window pattern carvings and its *mandapa* consisted of four columns in the centre and six columns at the end of each arm of a cross and these supported the roof. Like the temple at Bilhari, this *mandapa* also was enclosed by walls of ashlar masonry. The carvings on the columns indicate that in date also it belongs to the same period as the temple of Kamalanda. A band of carving runs up each face of the shafts and consists of a meandering creeper pattern with arabesque foliage in the interspaces. There is a vase at the top and the bottom of each column and pilaster, with overhanging foliage at the corners. The treatment of this overhanging foliage indicates that in date this temple was earlier than the temple of Śiva at Sohagpur or the remains discovered on the great mound at Karanbel.

In the second group of temples built during the rule of the Chedi kings there is no reliable evidence for deducing the dates and one has to depend more or less on tradition and the style of architecture. The earliest temple of this group is no doubt the Viratesvara Śiva at Sohagpur in the Rewa State (Pl. X a and b). This Sohagpur should not be confounded with Sohagpur in the Central Provinces. The place lies at a distance of about two miles from Sahdol Station on the Bilaspur Katm Section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. Like Chandrehe the great temple of Sohagpur was visited and described by Beglar for the first time. Beglar's description is very accurate, he having recognised this temple at Sohagpur belonging to the same class as the Khajuraha temples. His description of the temple as it stood in 1873 is worth quoting. The plan shows a square sanctum with pilasters at the corners supporting the inner roof of intersecting squares; these pillars are plain square ones ornamented with mouldings and bracket capitals in the usual way but are higher than usual, and suited to the size of the sanctum wherein they are placed. In front of the sanctum is the antarala and in front of it the great mahamandapa; this is roofed by a dome of overlapping stones disposed in concentric circles each fretted and coved but without the seated statues in each fretted recess that confers on the roof at Pali its peculiar richness; the roof has tumbled in partially. The dome rests on eight double pilasters; the corners of the square mandapa being cut off by architraves diagonally between the proper pilasters. From the octagon thus formed by the architraves rises the circular dome; the pilasters are square but richly carved and indented at the angles; they rest on high massive bases which confer dignity on them and are crowned by the usual corbelled cruciform capitals. From the projecting arms of the corbelled caps rise female figures supporting as it were the lowest circle of the dome; the effect is very pleasing as it is evident that the figures really have no weight to bear nor are the dispositions of the limbs such as to denote that they are bearing a weight; they look like girls in frolic pretending to support the roof; in short they look exactly what they are mere ornaments and as such are very pleasing. Three of these alone exist now.

On the two sides of the mahamandapa are openings leading into or on to the projecting windows with seats and back rests, as in the temples at

Khajuraha on both sides however the windows have suffered much. The northern window has the bottoms of its outer pillars one at each end crushed and worn to such an extent that the pillar may now fairly be said to be resting on a point and the wonder is that the point has not yet been crushed nor the pillar thrown out of its perpendicular but the destruction of this window cannot be far distant at present the vibration produced even by a man walking in the mahamandapa is distinctly felt in the tottering pillars with their superincumbent roof.

In front of the mahamandapa is a chamber which answers to both mandapa and aidhamandapa. It is not open on the sides and its roof rests on whole pilasters not dwarf pillars. The roof is of intersecting squares.

The temple faces east. On the architrave over the entrance into the sanctum is sculptured an eight armed male figure. Over this architrave is another on which a Ganesha is sculptured. I am not aware of any eight armed male god among the Hindus but the figure of Ganesha with the argha inside is conclusive evidence of its Saivite origin. It appears to me however that the original floor of the sanctum had at one period been overlaid by a fresh layer of stone which has been cut to fit the curve of the argha. If this layer as I conjecture has really been put on afterwards I can see no reason for it except the circumstance that corrosion has so acted on the lower part of the walls that some of the stones have been nearly eaten through and the second layer may have been meant to hide the unsightly stones and to add to the strength of the building. The corrosion or scaling off appears due to an inherent defect in the stone itself as almost the whole of the coarse grained reddish stone has thus suffered whether in the floor or on the tower at the same time the deeper coloured close grained purplish red stone of the statues does not appear to have suffered much though it must be noticed that they are mostly protected by coats of plaster and white wash.

The great tower is of very elegant shape and rises up with a gentle graceful curve most nearly approaching in form the curves of the towers of the Jain group of temples at Khajuraha and of the temple known as Jabar. It is ornamented by clusters of similar shaped towers smaller rising up along its faces and angles to varying and progressively increasing heights thus giving it the appearance of rising up through a great forest of similar smaller towers. It is crowned with the amalaka in the usual way the tower is adorned externally by deep rich moulding at the base surmounted by two tiers of large and one tier of smaller statues like the temples of the Jain group at Khajuraha above these the faces and facets of the tower are ornamented by the horseshoe type of sculpture used in the Jain temples mentioned before the corners here as there being broken up into a series of compartments by deep lines the resemblance is in short complete with only a difference of size and of the heights to which the surrounding attached tower pilasters are allowed to rise up on the sides of the main tower.

The antarala is roofed as usual by a gable ended roof projecting from the main front face of the tower. The gable form is however broken up into

numerous steps the entrance into the inner upper chamber over the sanctum exists but there are here in addition to the front entrance, two sides openings in the projecting sides of the gable roof projection

'The form of the roof of the *mahamandapa* externally probably resembled that of the Jubar temple it is now broken, the windows probably had to be rising up to points as usual and so probably had the portico

'The sculpture is much in the style of the Khajuraho sculptures there are very gross obscenities but they are placed in retired corners figures of women purposely exposing themselves are however very numerous the sculptures and the whole temple have had repeated coats of whitewash and the hollows still retain the layers of whitewash

'Internally the walls are perfectly plain sculpture being used solely on the pillars roofs and on the doorway to the sanctum, this last is profusely sculptured the central figure over the doorway is an eight armed male holding in his right hands a trident a mala a figure ble in lion glass with a noose and one hand empty in his left he holds a sword a skull fixed on a pole one hand broken and one empty, on his sides are on one side Brahma and his wife on the left Vishnu and his wife the concluding figures on this richly sculptured architrave being Parvati and Ganesa

In minuteness and profusion of sculpture the doorway will rival any that I know of

Over the doorway, a plain deep and broad architrave having crumbled two extra pillars have been put up with the intention of supporting it, the pillars however do not reach so high, and now stand doing no good but effectually hiding the rich sculpture on the sides of the doorway

Three different kinds of stone have been used in building this temple, a red a yellowish and a purple sandstone, the red is the worst and every where peels off the yellow is soft but does not scale off as if attacked by salt petre like the red the purple appears the hardest but it also suffers from the weather

As it stands now, the ruins of this temple consist of the *garbhagriha* with its tall *stikhara* the *antardala* which is still complete, and portions of the *mandapa* The porches in front and on the north of the *mandapa* are now entirely ruined and the roof of the *mandapa* also has collapsed The pavement of the porch in front and portions of the sides are all that remain at the present day, of the once magnificently adorned *mandapa* of this temple Fortunately the porch on the south is intact a small doorway in the lower part of the southern opening of the *mandapa* providing access to it Its roof is supported by two pairs of short half columns in front and two *pilasters* at the back Benches with backrests run along three sides of this porch the backrests being covered with carving consisting of vertical panels containing arabesque work separated by circular pilasters in pairs Along the top is a band of arabesque work and

at the bottom another horizontal band containing a row of rosettes. The portion of the front wall of this porch below the benches is very profusely sculptured and consists of a magnificent dado of the same style which is found in the Khajuraho temples (Pl XI b). Just above the mouldings of the plinth is a row of four petalled rosettes and above these a horizontal row of niches containing diamond shaped rosettes alternately sunk and flanked by round piers. The figures on the course above are also alternately sunk and consist of dwarfs supporting brackets over head on which stands either a female or a lion rampant over an elephant in alternate panels. These lions and females have over their heads miniature temples which consist of a narrow base with a round medallion in the centre and above two pilasters square in section supporting a miniature *sikhara* on top of them. Between the pilasters are two diamond shaped rosettes in the raised panels and only one rosette in the sunken panel between the temples. The space between the *sikharas* is covered with a network of small incised squares. A portion of a similar dado is also visible on the south wall the only part still existing of the front porch.

The roof of the great *mandapa* is supported by pairs of pilasters with the winding vine leaf pattern down their shafts as well as by single columns at the four corners. An octagonal stone frame composed of heavy lintels rests on these pilasters. On this frame is another octagonal course on which is carved a row of lotus leaves along the outer edge. Over this again are constructed the concentric rings of the great trabeate dome. The top of the dome unfortunately has fallen and only the five lower rings still remain in position. Originally a bracket sprang from the head of the capital on each of the pilasters and supported the edge of the lower course of the dome. Only three brackets on the western side of the *mandapa* are still in their positions (Pl XI a). These brackets bear female figures in relief standing beneath trees and resemble to some extent similar figures on the Buddhist and Jaina railing pillars of the Kushana period discovered at Mathura. The bases of the pilasters in the *mandapa* are shaped as vases with foliage overhanging from the four corners. The carving on the single columns in the corners consists of a vertical row of circles divided by two diameters at right angles to one another.

A massive and elaborately carved doorway on the western side of the *mandapa* leads to the *antahala*. Beglar's description is entirely wrong here. The door jamb on the left bears at the bottom a female figure holding a vase over whose head is a Naga with clasped hands. To the left of this female is another female figure holding up a mass of ornamental foliage in her left hand and to her left again is an attendant of Siva with four hands holding a lotus and a skull mace (*Matanga*) in his left hands and a drum (*danaru*) and a skull cup (*kapala*) in his right hands. Between the attendant and the females is a small dancing male figure while between the two bigger female figures there are two small female figures facing to the left. The carvings on the jamb over these figures consist of seven vertical bands. In the centre is a row of superimposed niches containing divine figures. On each side of each niche is a recessed corner with a dancing human figure. To the left of the dancing figures on the left side

there are two horizontal bands of arabesque work, while to the right of the right hand side figures is a round moulding bearing a meandering vine leaf pattern. There are altogether five superimposed niches in the centre of each jamb. The figures on the left jamb beginning from the bottom are (1) *Sarasvatī*, (2) *Śiva* and *Durgā* (3) two figures worshipping a *linga* (4) a goddess with four hands holding a *vina* in two of her hands while in the other two she holds a rosary and a *kaṇḍalū* and (5) *Brahma* with four hands. The base of the right jamb is exactly similar to that on the left. Most probably the larger female figures close to the entrance represent the *Ganges* and the *Yamunā* but as the feet of both have been broken it is impossible to say whether their vehicles the *mālā* and the tortoise were there originally. An attendant on the extreme right of the jamb holds a thunderbolt (*aṅga*) and a rosary (*akṣhasūtra*) in his left hands while in his right he holds a trident (*triśūla*) and a dagger (*śiṣṇā*). There is a group of five small flying figures at the bottom of each of the bands on both the jambs, but in the case of the left jamb these figures cannot be distinguished on account of the accumulation of whitewash. Over these figures the ornamentations on the right jamb consist of seven vertical bands as on the other. On the three vertical bands on the inner side of the jamb are (1) a row of small figures with clasped hands (2) eight flying figures and (3) a row of rosettes all of which are carried on the lintel. The lintel has three projections or brackets one in the centre and one on either side each being shaped as lotus with a hanging fringe of arabesque work. On the bracket on the left is *Sarasvatī* seated cross legged with eight hands two of which hold a *vina*. Two of the left hands hold a lotus (*padma*) and a rosary (*akṣhasūtra*) while the remaining one is in the posture of blessing (*varāṇudra*). In one of the right hands she holds a book (*puṣṭaka*) in a second a *kaṇḍalū* or *ghaṭā* and the third is in the position of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). Below the throne on which the Goddess is seated is her *vaḥana* the goose with a kneeling devotee on each side. In the space on the lintel between the central and left brackets *Brahma* is to be found seated with four hands holding a sacrificial ladle (*surpa*) in one of his left hands while the other is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). He holds a book and a *kaṇḍalū* in his right hands. After him is a standing figure with a *vina* in two of her hands and is evidently *Sarasvatī* once more while on the right is another figure of *Brahmā* exactly similar to that described above. The presence of two figures of *Brahma* and *Sarasvatī* at one and the same place cannot be accounted for. The central bracket bears a figure of *Śiva* dancing the *tandava*. He has eight hands and holds in his left hands (1) a small drum (*ḍamaru*) (2) a trident (*triśūla*) (3) a rosary (*akṣhasūtra*) (4) *śarṅga-mudrā*. In his right hands he holds a bow (*dhanu*) (2) a small mace (*śatavāṅga*) (3) blessing (*varāṇudra*) (4) giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). A male seated near the foot of the god is playing on two drums. Similar figures of the musicians are also to be found in the bas-relief in cave No. I at Badami. Between the central and the right brackets there are three figures. On the left *Vishnu* is seated with four hands holding a mace in the upper left hand while the lower is in the posture of giving protection and a wheel and a conchshell in the right hands. To his right is

a standing female with two hands, holding a vase with them. On the extreme right is to be found *Kamalamālā* or, as she is popularly called *Gaya Lakṣmī*, seated, with an elephant on each side pouring water over her head, from vases held in their trunks. The goddess has four hands and holds a lotus in two of her upper hands. The remaining left hand is in the posture of giving protection (*abhaya*) while in the remaining right hand she holds a conch. The bracket on the extreme right bears a dancing figure of Gaṇeśa with six hands. He holds in his left hands (1) an arrow (*śara*), (2) a battleaxe (*paraśu*), (3) a hook (*puṣṭaka*) and in his right hands (1) a dagger (*kripena*), (2) a pot of sweets (*māḍaka*) and (3) a noose (*pāśa*). Over these figures, the band on the extreme left or right of the jambs, containing the meandering vine creeper is continued. Above the lintel is a large slab of stone bearing on the right half from the left, Śiva and the seven divine mothers (*Sapta-mātaraḥ*), and ending with Vārāṇ and Chāmunā, followed by Gaṇeśa. On the left half of this slab we have the nine planets.

The *antāṭā* is a small chamber, measuring 8' 9" x 4' and within it are small pilasters each with a bracket capital, on the arms of which is a sprawling *gana* playing on a conch shell. The length of the entire temple is 51' out of which the length of the *garbhagriha* is 9' 9" and the *mandapa* 20' 3". At one time there appears to have been a stone platform, the inside of which has now sunk a good deal. The sinking has caused a good deal of damage to the *śikhara* so that unless the entire temple is underpinned and thoroughly repaired there is very little chance of its surviving for another half a century. Above the mouldings of the plinth the body of the *garbhagriha* is covered with three bands of sculptures, which contain, like the temples of Khajuraho, either images of gods and *Śivaganas* or attendant figures. It may be noted here that the temple at Sohagpur is profusely ornamented with indecent figures like some of the Khajuraho temples. On each of the recessed corners of the *garbhagriha* is a miniature *śikhara*, while four larger miniature *śikharas* lean against four faces of the main *śikhara*. The main *śikhara* is entirely covered with the conventional *chaitya*-window pattern. The stones of the tall spire are keyed in their position by a large circular stone, on which are set a very large *amalaka* and two more gradually diminishing in size. On each face of the *garbhagriha* and in the centre of each of the three bands mentioned above is a row of superimposed niches each containing a divine figure. These niches are flanked by square pilasters with three projecting bands on the shaft of each. The niches contain divine figures such as Pārvatī and Śiva dancing the *tandava* dance (Pl. XII).

Allied to the temple at Sohagpur are the group of temples at Amarkantak, the supposed source of the Narmadā and the Sōna. As such, Amarkantak is mentioned in the oldest of the Purāṇas, the Matsya Purāṇa, where it is described in the 186th chapter and in the last verses of the 188th chapter. Two places in Amarkantak are mentioned specially, one of which is Jvālēsvara, the second being called Amarēsvara. Another place is also mentioned in the 186th chapter, viz., Rudrakōṭī. In January 1921 none of the existing structures at Amarkantak were known by these names. The group of temples at Amarkantak is divided into two distinct parts. The earliest part, which contains the largest and most



ancient temples and the older images is now forsaken entirely by pilgrims who are taken by the Deccan Brahmins who now officiate at this holy place to a group of entirely modern structures and a quite new *lunda* which is now represented is the source of the rivers Narmada and the Sona

In the older group the most important temple is a triple shunned temple of Mahadeva which is ascribed by local tradition to *Raja Karan Daharya* i.e. King Karana of Dahala (Pl XIII) This temple stands on an eminence almost in the centre of the plateau of Amarkantak. It or rather this group of temples is quite different from the regular north Indian temples with which one is familiar in Hindustan and in plan the temple varies considerably from the temples of the Ghedi country described before. Beglar who visited Amarkantak in 1873-74 was the first person to describe the ruins at Amarkantak at length. Writing about this temple he states. Architecturally however there is but one temple deserving of interest and that is the great deserted one known as the Karan Mandir and traditionally ascribed to Karana Raja.

As it stands at present it has the appearance of three distinct temples on one large raised platform but this is due either to the great connecting mahamandapa having been destroyed or never completed. It will be seen from the plan that there are three temples disposed on three sides of a square the fourth side being unoccupied and the platform at that end broken. The platform is not a square but cruciform following the outline of the temples but larger in every way so as to leave a bench all round the projecting corners of the platform at the angles of the three arms of the cross are now quite meaningless but if we prolong the lines of the three temples in front of the entrances 10 feet we will find that the inner space left permits of a square 25 feet in width being described which will leave just the same bench between its walls and the platform square as is now left by the temples between their walls and the edges of the arms of the cruciform platform. If now we suppose the thickness of the walls of this square so described to be the same as that of the existing projecting portion of walls or pillars in front of the entrances of the existing temples or about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet we shall have a clear square of about 18½ feet in the centre as the clear space of what would then be the mahamandapa the convenient size thus obtained being just what would not be too large for an overlapping dome not yet too small compared to the size of the sanctum as will be seen on comparison with other examples of the ordinary type. The temple would then consist of three sanctums three antichambers each 10 feet long a great mahamandapa 18½ or 19 feet square a mandapa equal to the antichamber or 10 feet square and an ardhamandapa rather smaller and this temple would thus be the second specimen of the unique type of temple which exists at Malabar near Mahoba. Although at first sight this type is widely different from the ordinary type of Hindu temples yet on examination it is found to be nearly a slightly modified form of it the window projections at the transepts being here replaced by antichambers on each side and the windows themselves replaced by a door each opening however not into the open air but into a sanctum equal and similar to the principal sanctum. The superb magnificence however, of such a temple with its three

tall and profusely sculptured lofty towers of graceful outline can only be realised by actual sight unfortunately the only complete existing example I am aware of at Makarba is small and so confined within a mass of huts as to render even a good view embracing the whole impossible and a photograph impracticable besides which that temple is buried under accumulations of rubbish to a depth of about six feet

This temple therefore is singularly interesting for its size and design and it is a thousand pities it never was completed the mouldings are bold and elegant but perfectly plain as is in fact the whole temple the little carving that exists is confined to the upper portions of the towers and is merely the plain horse shoe type of which a fine example is the smaller Jain temple at Khajuraha but here it is not so rich nor so deep and portions are even merely marked with the chisel in outline and not cut proving that the temple has been left unfinished the triple row of plain projecting blocks over the basement mouldings were no doubt intended to be cut into statues as at Khajuraha some of the blocks have even a little unmeaning shallow carving on them either the first outlines of statues for the guidance of the sculptors or attempts of some after age at completion of the temple

The towers rise up with a curved outline the curve is not of the type of the Snipur brick temple or the Barakar type of Bengal it is of the Khajuraha or Northern India type Here it is enough to notice the type of the tower is one more of the evidences which places this temple within the Northern or rather Central India class and not among the eastern class of temples the projecting entrance in front has as usual the projecting gable roof which here is straight sided and not curved as is sometimes the case there is the usual small entrance in it vertically over the great entrance into the sanctum below and giving access to the chamber over the flat roof of the sanctum for here as elsewhere universally in stone temples the sanctum has an inner roof of intersecting squares within the tower roof Internally the temples are perfectly plain the material is a coarse hard reddish conglomerate the architraves of all the sanctums have the lotus as a symbol carved on the centre the principal sanctum once had a statue as there are fragments of what I suspect was the pedestal or singhasan still *in situ* now however a large lingam and argha are set up in the centre the argha is clumsily set into the floor it is broken on the left and north side a gargoyle projects from the outer face of the tower to let out the water of libations the gargoyle does not deliver the water openly but resting on a dwarf hollow pillar and pierced with an outlet at the bottom over the hollow of the pillar it delivers the water into the hollow of the pillar, and thence underground away to a distance this is the only sanctum that has this gargoyle the others are without outlets for water they also now enshrine lingams set in arghas but I doubt if such was their original purpose <sup>1</sup>

This triple shrined temple was indeed new to Beglar who had most probably not seen any temples of this type in Khandesh or in the Deccan Besides the

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Archæological Survey Reports Vol VII pp 127-29*

small temple found by him at Malabar other examples have since been discovered in Central India. One of these is situated in the village of Deoguna on the same plateau as the village of Bhumra where the Gupta temple was discovered.<sup>2</sup> This plateau is in the States of Nagode and Jaso Bhumra being in the Nagode portion while Deoguna is in the small part belonging to the Jagir of Jaso. A similar small temple was discovered in the northern part of Malwa in the village of Kuldeshvar which is now included in the Garoth District of the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that King Kamma must have seen one of these triple shrined temples during one of his numerous campaigns in Western India and may have built this temple after the model of these south western shrines. The space between the three shrines of the temples in Western India is usually occupied by the *mandapa*. In the present case the *mandapa* was supported by columns the bases of which are still standing, while the fourth arm of the cross was occupied by a small porch in front of which was a flight of steps. There is no evidence to indicate that the *mandapa* was not completed in fact the projection in front of the central temple shows that originally there was a stair case at that point. It cannot be understood now how Beglar missed this fact and for what reasons he thought that the western side was incomplete. The original plan of the architect was to reproduce one of the triple shrined temples which the king or he himself had seen in Western India. The approach way to this group was from the west where there were steps right in front of the *mandapa* as indicated by masonry of huge blocks of conglomerate called Kanjar in North India some of which have been quarried away, very probably when the later group of temples was being built. The three *antaralas* in front of the three temples also seem to have collapsed and their remains also to have been carried away for building the new group of temples at this place. The *silharas* of these three shrines resemble the northern type and bear a great resemblance to that of the temple at Sohagpur described above (Pl. XIV, b). Of the three temples the one on the north is now in ruins as its *silhara* has collapsed but the core of the *garbhagriha* is still in a fair state of preservation. This temple faces the south and there are two *anghopattas* inside it with a broken *haga* in one of them. The roof of the *sanctum* is supported by four pilasters at the four corners and three corbels in each of the three walls. These corbels are shaped like one of the arms of a square incised capital. On each side of the roof the pilasters and the corbels support a heavy lintel from which the trabeate roof springs. A delicate design to some extent resembling the heraldic *fleur de lys* is sculptured in low relief on the ceiling and the top is carved to represent a fully blossomed lotus. The passage to the *garbhagriha* is roofed by massive lintels the additional strength being necessitated by the heavy weight they had to support as that of the gable roof in front. The jambs of the doors bear on them a flat twisting creeper pattern which is very vigorous in execution in spite of its simplicity (Pl. XIV, c). On both sides of this

<sup>1</sup> Journ. of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 16, pp. 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for the year ending 31st March 1920, p. 116.

door are a pair of pilasters bearing a similar pattern. These pilasters support large square bracket capitals which in their turn carry a heavy lintel, decorated with the same pattern. The bases of each of these pilasters consist of a round vase with foliage hanging down at the sides. They resemble very much the pilasters and pillars of the ruined temple discovered recently on the mound of ruins at Karambel in the Jubbulpore District<sup>1</sup>. Beglar's surmises on the ornamentations of the exterior of the *garbhagrihas* appear to be wrong. The architect did not intend to have bands of divine or semi-divine figures around the middle of the exteriors as at Khajuraha, and this is proved by the fact that the niches on each of the three sides of each of the *garbhagrihas* are occupied by diamond shaped rosettes and not by images. There are two rows of superimposed niches on each side of each of these temples and another row is to be found outside the walls of the *antarala*. In some cases these niches are empty while in others, as for example, the temple on the south all niches on the outer wall contain diamond shaped rosettes. The lintel of the doorway in each temple bears a row of rosettes. The gables, over the *antaralas* of these temples, are entirely devoid of carving up to a height of five feet from the lintels supported by the pilasters on either side of the doorways. At this point there are two horizontal bands of mouldings and then, above it a row of rosettes alternated with pilasters in relief. Over this is the roof triangular in shape, the apex of which is 9-10 in height from its base. The sides of this gable shaped roof are stepped and are covered with *chaitya* window shaped ornaments, and above and central with it is a fine *chaitya* window containing an ellipsoid medallion with a rosette in it. The total length of the platform on which the temple stands is 87 and the present total breadth 36-6". The length of the *garbhagriha* on the north is 22 and its breadth 18. The measurements of the *garbhagriha* on the east are 21-6 x 18 and the southern *garbhagriha* is almost identical with it.

Beglar mentions a half ruined temple consisting simply of a cell with a portico two hundred feet to the north of this temple<sup>2</sup>. This portico was supported on sixteen pillars. The position of the ruins of this temple is now marked by a big mound. To the north of this shrine is a row of three small cells or temples in a line. These are very small and consist only of a cell each with a small tower. These three temples contain images and are much later in date than Karna's triple-shrined temple or the ruined *mandapa* which is No. 2 of Beglar's list. To the west of this small shrine there is a large temple now known by the name of Kesava nrayana (Pl. XV). This is No. 6 in Beglar's description. Beglar was informed that this temple had been built by the Bhonsles of Nagpur but in reality it is an ancient temple which may have been partly rebuilt by the Bhonsle Rajas in the 18th century. Originally there was only one shrine to the south with a *mandapa* on the north, but later on, another shrine has been added on the west. In the bigger shrine on the south is a fine image of Vishnu of the usual northern type. The smaller shrine contains another old image of Vishnu. The *mandapa* is practically open on all four

<sup>1</sup> See Pl. XIX.

sides and its roof rests on short dwarf columns which again stand on benches running along the sides of the *mandapa*. The latter has only one opening on the eastern face and consists of a stone door frame fitted between two of the dwarf columns in the centre. The *mandapa* was built on a plain square platform and the only ornaments on it are to be found outside the back rests of the benches, these being divided into rectangular panels by means of twin pilasters. The roof of the shrine is pyramidal in shape and appears to have been repaired at some later date. Beglar seems to have found this temple or rather group of temples whitewashed but whitewash is not in evidence anywhere at present except on the columns and the benches of the *mandapa*. As in the case of the temple of Karna the niches on the wall of both of the *garbhagrihas* contain diamond shaped rosettes (Pl. XV).

Standing close to this temple to its north is another old temple called the temple of Machchhendranatha. This temple consists of a *garbhagriha* on the north west and a *mandapa* in front of it i.e. to the south east. The *mandapa* which measures 42 x 37.9 like the previous one is supported by four columns in the centre and twelve more arranged in the form of a hollow square. These latter are dwarfed and stand on the benches. No attempt appears to have been made to repair this temple at any time but none the less it is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The only entrance to the *mandapa* is on the east, and it is fitted with a stone door frame ornamented with a meandering creeper pattern sculptured on the upper half of the jambs and on the lintel. The lower parts of the jambs are plain but the sill is decorated with the same pattern. The exterior dado of the *mandapa* consists of panels alternately sunk and ornamented with arabesque work. Above this dado are the back rests which are also carved. This carving consists of arabesque work at the top and the bottom the space in the middle being divided into oblong panels containing arabesque work, which are separated from each other by pairs of circular pilasters. All the columns of the *mandapa* are circular and the ceiling was apparently of the same type as that of the *mandapa* of the temple described before. The *silhara* of the temple which is in an excellent state of preservation is of the Orissan type (Pl. XVI b). The sides are slightly curved and the whole is covered with a conventional *chauliya* window pattern. There are two *amulalas* one large and one small on the top of the *silhara* and above all is the rounded crest jewel (*chudamani*). On each face of the *garbhagriha* are two superimposed niches all of which are empty. Within is an old *virghapatta*. The roof of the shrine is constructed on the same principle as that of the temple of Karna but in this case the four columns in the corners supporting a frame on which the triabate roof rests are covered with a simple arabesque design. There is a projecting gable in front of the *silhara* the ornamentations on which are precisely the same as that to be found in any of the three temples ascribed to Karna. The exterior of the *antara* also bears two niches which contain diamond shaped rosettes. This temple is No. 7 of Beglar's description.

To the east of this temple and on the south bank of the ancient stone paved *lunda* stands the temple which was in ruins in Beglar's days but which has

since been partly rebuilt. At present the temple cannot be recognised as an ancient one but still it is very interesting on account of the image which it contains. This image was originally composed of four different slabs of which three were placed vertically on the ground side by side while the fourth was placed on the top of these three forming the top of the backslab. The last one however has disappeared. Out of the three vertical slabs the one in the centre bears the main figure while the side ones bear pilasters and form part of the backslab. The main figure is that of a female standing on a fully expanded lotus. She has four hands and holds a lotus in her upper right hand while the lower holds a *lamandalu*. The upper left arm is broken but the lower holds a rosary. On each side of the leg of the main figure a bearded Rishi is seated in meditation while on each side of her head is a garland bearing *gandharva* couple. Below the lotus on which the main figure stands and the pedestal is a clear space in which a bearded male figure is seated crosslegged with hands clasped in front in adoration while on each side a female attendant is kneeling with a fly whisk in their hands. On the side slabs are two recessed corners at the bottom. The first corner on the right bears two kneeling female figures while on the second another male wearing a turban is seated crosslegged. Over the first recessed corner is a pilaster bearing one large and a small female figurine in relief against it. The larger female figure holds a fly whisk. Over the second recessed corner a bearded male is standing with a vase in his right hand while the left is held up in the posture of giving protection. Over this figure a female is kneeling with hands clasped in adoration over whom is a rampant lion. On the top another male is standing on a bracket. Near the top of the pilaster there is a *gandharva*-couple carved in relief against it. The slab on the left is exactly similar to that on the right with the single exception that the figure at the bottom on the second recessed corner is bearded.

This image appears to be the original image of the goddess Narmada which for some reason or other has lost its sanctity together with the stone paved *hunda* in front of it which must originally have been supposed to be the source of the rivers Sona and Narmada. The cause of this loss of sanctity is not known to the Deccan Brahmins who now officiate as priests in the modern shrine of Narmada. These priests profess ignorance about the identity of this figure. The interior of the old temple in which this image is enshrined has not been repaired. The broken lintel over the doorway is being supported by an old stone pillar. There was a *mandapa* in front the stone paved platform of which is still existing. This temple is No 8 of Beglar's list.

The next temple is now entirely ruined. It was partly standing in Beglar's time. The *mandapa* and *sikhara* have collapsed and the exterior facing of the *garbhagriha* has disappeared leaving the core exposed. The interior of the *garbhagriha* is perfectly plain. There is an old pedestal inside it on which stands a fine image of Vishnu with figures of the ten incarnations on its backslab. This image of Vishnu is now called Sonabhadra i.e. an image of the river Sona! To the east of this ruined temple which is No 9 of Beglar's description is another

temple called the temple of Patakesvara (Pl. XVI, a) In plan this temple is exactly similar to the temple of Machchhēndranatha described above (No 7 of Beglar's list) With the exception of portions of the *śikhara* and of the back rests of benches it is in a fairly good state of preservation Certain portions of the *śikhara* bear traces of whitewash, which may indicate that it was partly rebuilt at some later date But the carving on slabs forming the *śikhara* shows that the original position of these stones has not been disturbed The temple consists of a *mandapa* and a *garbhagriha*, there being no porch either in front or on the sides of the *mandapa*, as in the case of the temples of Kēśava narayana and Machchhēndranatha Access is obtained to the interior of the *mandapa* through an opening on the western side on the front of the *mandapa* where a stone door frame has been fitted The upper part of the *mandapa* is open on all sides the lower being enclosed on three sides with stone benches having back rests The back of the back rests as well as the exterior face of this wall below the benches is ornamented The ornamentation is similar to that in the *mandapa* of the temple of Machchhēndranatha The back of the back rests contains two bands at the top and the bottom The upper band consists of a meandering creeper pattern while the lower band consists of a row of lotus petals The space between them is occupied by vertical oblong panels, containing arabesque work separated by pairs of round pilasters The shafts of the pillars which support the roof of the *mandapa* are round at the top, octagonal in the middle and hexagonal at the bottom Most of them are short and rest on the benches but four pillars in the centre and two pilasters leaning against the *antarala*, are longer and rest on the pavement The ceiling of the *mandapa* is divided into nine rectangles each covered by a trabeate dome Unlike others this temple faces the west and the floor of its *garbhagriha* is far below that of the *mandapa* while the latter is about a foot below the surrounding ground level The dado of the *mandapa*, i.e., the portion under the bench towards the north is half buried in the soil Seven steps lead from the level of the *mandapa* down to the floor of the *garbhagriha* Inside it is an old *linga* and an *arghapatna* Outside its walls there is a niche on each face of which the eastern and southern ones contain large diamond shaped recesses Unlike other temples the exterior of the *garbhagriha* is covered with the *chaitya* window pattern with which portions of the *śikhara* also are entirely covered The *śikhara* of this temple and that of the temple of Machchhēndranatha are dwarfish and look like the later temples of the eleventh and twelfth century at Bhuvanēsvara in Orissa There is only one *amalaka* on the *śikhara* of this temple The gable over the *antarala* is also present in this case The roof of the *mandapa* is in a fair state of preservation and consists of a stepped pyramid, on the top of which is a large square piece of stone on which the *amalaka* and the crest jewel (*śrīdamani*) have been placed A low narrow *chhaya* runs along the sides of the *mandapa* With the exception of these temples the remaining temples of Amarantāl are either in ruins or modern The second group consists entirely of modern shrines which are absolutely of no interest except for the ancient statues and images they contain which will be described in the next chapter

Bajpāth is a small village lying at a distance of one mile from the Sutna Rewa road nine miles from Rewa and 23 miles from Sutna station. Cunningham visited Bajpāth in 1884-85. During the month of July of one of these years the *mandapa* of the ruined temple at this place collapsed. Cunningham says that at one time Bajpāth possessed five or six temples of which one was standing in his time<sup>1</sup>. In April 1920 this temple was still standing in the same state (Pl. XVIII b). This is the temple of Vardyanatha Mahadeva and probably it is the same as that given by King Lakshmanaraja to the Śaiva ascetic Hrida yasiva<sup>2</sup> as mentioned in the Bilham inscription of the rulers of Chedi. Since Cunningham's visit a portion of the *śikhara* has also collapsed. The outline of the *mandapa* can be traced from its pavement where the bases of the pillars which once supported the roof of the *mandapa* are still in position.

The temple, as it stands at present consists of the ruins of the *garbhagriha* and the *antarala*. The latter possesses a finely carved stone door frame. On the sill there are lions and elephants on each side facing the circular projection in the centre. This projection bears two conventional trees. There is a small recessed corner on each side bearing sunken panels which contain human figures. The jambs on each side are elaborately carved. The bottom bears the usual figures of Ganges and Yamunā. Here we find Ganges on the right with a *mālā* below her feet. Two female attendants and a *śivagana* stand to her right, with a Naga near her head. The left jamb bears the figure of Yamunā standing on a tortoise. Over the head of each of these goddesses is a canopy formed by a pair of parrots holding a single garland jointly in their beaks. Over this group the jamb is covered with five vertical bands of carving. Thus on the extreme right of the right jamb is a band bearing a meandering creeper pattern which is continued on the lintel and in the interspaces of which is ornamental foliage. The second band consists of a superimposed row of lions rampant on recessed corners. In the central band is a row of niches four in a superimposed row each containing amorous couples. The fourth band consists of another superimposed row of lions rampant on rosettes and finally on the extreme left we have a narrow band containing diamond shaped and round rosettes alternately. The last three bands are also continued on the lintel. In the centre of the lintel there is a panel bearing a bas-relief beginning with a female standing on the left with two hands between a pair of plantain trees. She holds a lotus in her right hand. To the left of this are six seated figures of the seven *Mātṛikās* all with two hands. The fifth and sixth figures are those of Varaha and Chamunda. After Chamunda is Ganesa seated with another male figure with two hands evidently Śiva. In the centre of the lintel is a niche on a projection flanked by two round pilasters containing a figure of Śiva as Lakṣṇa. He has four hands two of which hold a lotus while two others are in the *Dharmadā-choḍa-mudrā*. The space on the lintel to the right of this central niche is occupied by seated figures of the nine planets. At the right end of the

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Archæological Survey Reports* Vol. XXI pp. 104-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I pp. 259-268.



intel is a female standing, with two hands the left of which is held aloft over her head while the right is placed on her left breast

There is a plain trabeate dome over the *antarala*, over which are the remains of the projecting gable in front. Inside the *garbhagriha*, the *linga* does not occupy the exact centre. The southern side of the exterior facing of the *garbhagriha* and the *silhara* is partly uninjured. The northern side has partly collapsed. From the existing portion we learn that the *silhara*, in this case also was covered with a modified *chaitya* window pattern. There is a niche in the southern wall of the *antarala* and two large and one small niches in the south wall of the *garbhagriha*. All of these are empty except the central niche on the southern face which contains an image of Ganēsa. Here there is a departure from the usual rule in temples of the country of Dahala according to which the niches on the exterior of *garbhagrihas* generally contain rosettes and not images. A portion of the backwall of the *garbhagriha* has collapsed, in the north western corner, while the entire outer facing of the northern wall of the same has disappeared. Some sculptures, seen by Cunningham are now worshipped and have been placed inside a hut to the south west of this temple, and some more are lying outside under trees, indicating that at one time Baijnath possessed a large number of temples. The temple of Vaidyanatha itself stands on the bank of a huge lake which has now become shallow and which in April 1920 was covered with lotus flowers in full bloom.

A small temple of Śiva similar to the temple of Vaidyanātha Mahadeva at Baijnath, was discovered in the working season of 1921-22 at Marai in the small state of Mauhar (Pl XX a). Mauhar must have been included in the dominions of Kalachuri Chedris. The village of Marai nestles at the feet of the northern slope of the Kamur range and must have been a place of considerable importance in the tenth and eleventh centuries, judging from the ruins that now lie scattered all over the village. At the eastern extremity of the village there is a fine stepped tank formed by building a dam against the slope of the hill, where rain water is collected. The dam is on two sides of the tank, the hill side protecting the remaining one of the triangular area. On this dam stood more than one ancient temples the ruins of which now lie scattered on it. Judging from the execution of the sculptures it appears that these temples were built in the eleventh century and therefore of the same date as the temple of Sohagpur, Amarantak and Baijnath.

Thalur Karansingh the owner of the village of Marai, pointed out an entirely new temple which lies inside the village. The temple is smaller in size than the temple at Baijnath and stands on a stone built platform which is approximately 100 ft in length and 50 ft in breadth. In the centre of this platform there is a smaller platform about six feet higher than the larger one. The main temple stands on this platform. The *mandapa* has entirely collapsed like the temple of Vaidyanātha at Baijnath and its plinth lies buried in the massive stones of its ruins. Only the side walls of the *antarala* and the main *garbhagriha* are still standing. The latter has lost its *silhara* entirely. The walls of the former are plain and the masonry is regularly coursed ashlar, like

that of the temple at Baynath. The door frame of the temple is finely carved. On the right jamb we find Ganges on the left with a *makusa* near her feet and a Naga over her head. In front a female is standing with two hands both of which are broken. On the left is a seated male attendant while on the right a female attendant is standing. On the extreme right is a *Swagana* with a *trifida* in his left hand. An inverted lotus leaf over the head of Ganges forms a canopy. Small monkeys are seated over this lotus leaf among Rishis and other figures. Over the head of this group the jamb is divided into two bands the first of which consists of a superimposed row of niches with a recessed corner on each side and the second is a round band with a row of lions rampant with human figures on their backs in the interspaces. These figures are fighting with the lions. In the first band there are four niches all of which contain amorous couples and a male is dancing on each of the recessed corners. The left jamb is similar to the right one except for the fact that Yamuna who has replaced Ganges is standing on the back of a tortoise. The female in front of Yamuna is broken and the *Swagana* to the left of the female attendant holds a skull mace (*khatvanga*). On the lintel there are three niches one at each end and one in the centre. Between them there are three bands of carving in two parts. The first band consists of a row of *Gandharvas* bearing garlands. The second band consists of the nine planets while the third consists of Siva and the Seven Divine Mothers. The niche or bracket on the left bears the figure of Brahma seated with four hands holding a sacrificial ladle (*sruva*) and a rosary (*akshasutra*) in his left hands while the right hands are broken. The goose the *vahana* of Brahma is carved to the right of the cushion on which the god is seated. The central niche contains a figure of Siva as Lakhsa seated on a lotus. A Rishi is seated on a smaller lotus under the big lotus on each side of its stem. Siva has four hands of which two are in the *Dharmachakra-mudra* and two are broken. There is a *Gandharva* with garlands on each side of the head. Outside the pilasters of the niche which are round in all three niches there is a lion rampant over the head of a kneeling devotee on a recessed corner. The niche on the right contains the figure of Vishnu on Garuda with four hands all of which are broken. Of the three bands of carving between these three brackets the first part of the second band bears the seated figures of a female followed by those of the Sun, Moon, Mangala and Budha with Guru or Brihaspati. In the third band there is a seated figure of Siva with four hands playing on a *vina* followed by three of the Mothers. In the second part of these two bands are to be found Sukra, Saturn, Rahu and Ketu in the second band while in the third band are the figures of the four Divine Mothers ending with Chamaunda and Ganesa. There is a separate circular door step on which the sill rests. This door step has a conch on each side as in the case of the temple of Lakshminarayana at Kohala in the Indore State.<sup>1</sup> The sill consists of a tree on the circular projection in the centre with a female standing with a lotus on a

<sup>1</sup> *Annuaire Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for the year ending 31st March 1928* p. 86 para 77

recessed corner, on each side of this tree. Then come two males seated on ornamental foliage in a panel. Finally on each side there is a niche, under each of the jambs, containing mutilated human figures. On a recessed corner on each side there is a lion rampant while on the other side is another recessed corner with a male or female attendant.

The temple at Marai is almost square and there are only four recessed corners between each right angle. Originally, there was a niche flanked by square pilasters in the centre of each of the three faces. The niche on the northern side has collapsed. The facing of the *garbhagriha* on this side has also fallen. Portions of the facing of the southern wall has suffered. The west or the backwall is comparatively in a good state of preservation. There are two rows of divine figures on the exterior of the wall of the *garbhagriha*, which are mutilated. Interspersed between other figures in the upper row are obscene groups, usually with two figures in each group, as in the temple of Siva at Sahagpur and some of the Khajuraho temples. The *antarala* is very small and is fitted with a second door frame. The *garbhagriha* contains a huge *linga*, with a square *arghapatta*, which is placed on a second but plainer *arghapatta* also oblong in shape. The interior of the *garbhagriha* is plain and, like the temples at Amarkantak, its ceiling is supported by four pilasters, in the four corners. There is a plain bracket in the northern wall. The ceiling of the *garbhagriha* is trabeate, with four big *lutmellhas* in the triangular corner slabs of the roof.

Tripuri, the ancient capital of the Haihayas, is now represented by the large village of Tewari, which stands on the road from Jabulpore to the Marble Rocks. Two miles from this road are the ruins of Karanbel which have been identified with the ruins of the city of Karmnapuri, built by Karmna. Karanbel consists of several very high mounds covered with bricks and potsherds. With the exception of scattered images and sculptures only two ancient monuments are visible at these two places. At Karanbel the *mandapa* of a temple was discovered which, judging from its carving, must be assigned to the same date as the triple shired temple of Karmna at Amarkantak. At Tewari, there is only a stepped well which also belongs to the same date. Cunningham, who visited Tewari in 1873-74, printed in his report an account of Karanbel written for him by his assistant, the late Mr J D M Beglar. I found, however, at the foot of a low, long hill, known as Kari Sarai the remains of two structures. One of these, situated about a mile and a half from Tewari, consists of a cell composed of two rows of three pillars each, with long stones between them piled on each other for walls, on three sides. The pillars are  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet square but have evidently taken from some more ancient building, as two of them, though doing duty as pillars, are the top or sides of a doorway. About 200 feet off it, but quite hidden away in the dense jungle, one comes quite suddenly on a remarkably picturesque ruin. This consists of the remains of two distinct buildings, both made of, or supplemented by, spoils from other buildings. They consist of two colonnades. The higher and larger one has four rows of pillars, three in each row, surmounted by capitals and

architraves, but without a roof. The other consists of four rows of two pillars each but much lower in height though the pillars appear similar both in execution and in all particulars of size except height. These are also surmounted by corbelled capitals and architraves. The pillars are not all alike some are very fine and massive and plainly but exquisitely and boldly sculptured some are thin and coarsely executed while others again are made up of non-descript fragments piled upon each other. The architraves surmounting and connecting the pillars are massive and sculptured in the plain geometric patterns so common in the Chandel temples of Central India.<sup>1</sup>

These two runs cannot be located now and most probably their remains have been taken away either by the Railway Companies or by the villagers. In April 1922 the remains of two other buildings were discovered, on the slope of one of the mound at Kaimbel. The larger one of these is apparently the *mandapa* of a temple with an *ardha mandapa* or porch on the southern side (Pl. XIX a). Two pillars in the *ardha mandapa* are built up in sections i.e. they are not monolithic. Originally there were apparently four pillars in the centre of the *mandapa* surrounded by masonry walls on all sides along which there were pilasters which also were not monolithic but were built of several slabs of stone. In plan this *mandapa* seems to have been similar to the *mandapa* of the temple of Kamalandala at Bilhari though in the latter case the pilasters which rest against the masonry walls are monolithic. The temple appears to have faced the south. At present three of the four pillars are standing the place of the fourth was taken up by a pilaster of masonry. There are four lintels on the porch on the eastern side. The pillars and pilasters of the main hall of the *mandapa* all support lintels. There are two lintels one over the other at the place where the porch on the south joins the main hall. The pilaster at the north-eastern corner rests on a chair or base which has become exposed by the action of the water of a small *nalla* which flows by its side. The height of this pillar is 11 feet 6 inches from the top of the chair.

To the north of this *mandapa* there are the remains of a smaller colonnade consisting of two pilasters and a pillar. Here the remains indicate that a masonry wall ran along the sides of the two pilasters. There was a second pillar at this place which appears to have been displaced and carted away recently. This second group seems to have formed part of a smaller temple close to the larger ones. To the west of the *mandapa* of the larger temple there are the remains of a smaller temple, which was exactly similar in size to the smaller temple to the north. About fifty feet to the east of this group of ruins there are the remains of another small temple consisting of two plain pillars with square bracket capitals supporting two plain lintels (Pl. XIX b). The outer edge of the lintels is supported by a carved door-jamb. It is impossible to say at present whether these remains were noticed by Beglar or not but it seems quite probable that he mistook them to be later buildings constructed from materials of older temples because the pilasters are built up in sections

and are not moughthue. The pillar reproduced in Plate XX b appears to resemble the pillar reproduced by Cunningham to some extent. It cannot be the same one as the dotted lines in Cunningham's plate indicate that the pillar seen by him was unfinished while the same cannot be said of the pillar reproduced here.<sup>1</sup>

The only other ancient monument in the vicinity of Karanbel or Tewar is a large stepped well on the border of the village of Tewar (Pl XXI. b). This stepped well is really cruciform in shape with four narrow stairways in the centre of each of the four sides. In addition to these stairways there are two additional ones on the eastern side on which side a platform appears to have been built at some later date. The old staircase on this side passes under this platform and in addition there are two series of steps which are only partly complete on each side of this platform. Just behind this platform there is a modern shrine under a tree under which many of the sculptures and images discovered at Tewar have been grouped together descriptions of which will be found in the next chapter.

Some of the ruined temples at Bargaon which is close to the Rathi and Sahaya Station of the Bina Katni Section of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway belong to this group. The temple of Somanatha at this place described by Cunningham is now a plain square cell without any ornamentation<sup>2</sup> (Pl XVIII. a). Evidently this cell was the original *garbhagriha* of the temple which once had *mandapas* and *ordha-mandapas* in front but which has now been reduced to its present shapeless condition by repairs after a partial collapse. The temple at Bhurpur discovered by Mr H. B. W. Garrick a photograph of which was published by him, also belongs to this period<sup>3</sup>. The other building at Bhurpur an illustration of which also appears in Cunningham's report may be a palace or a monastery the date of which is uncertain.<sup>4</sup>

The temple of Vishnuvraha at Bilhari does not belong to this epoch. It is a building in the hybrid quasi-Muhammadian style effected by the builders of the Gond period and specimens of which are to be seen almost all over this part of the country (Pl XXI. c). The building is a tall one and may have been built on the ruins of a more ancient temple which stood at this place. The porch which stands in front of it had been built from the materials of more than one ancient temple as all pillars are not of the same design. Neither this porch nor the temple can be assigned to the period of the rule of the Chedi or Hahaya kings. There are some interesting sculptures at this place an account of which will be found in the next chapter.

The third group of Hahaya monuments consists of temples built during the reigns of the last two or three kings i.e. Narasimhadeva his brother Jayasimhadeva and the latter's son Vyajasimha. With the exception of the Bhira ghat inscription of Abhanadevi the widow of Gujjaranna and the mother of

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Archaeological Survey Reports* Vol. IX. pl. XIV.

Cunningham *Archaeological Survey Reports* Vol. XXII. pp. 163-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* Vol. XIX. pp. 373. pl. XI.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* pl. XIII.

Narasimhadeva there is no other epigraphic evidence of buildings of this period. The temple which was built by Alhanadevi and which is referred to in verse 27 of the Bheraghat inscription appears to refer to the rebuilding of this temple as remains at this place indicate that there was a temple on this spot built long before the twelfth century A. D.

Bheraghat is one of the passes through which the river Narmada flows and is situated at a distance of thirteen miles from Jabbalpore. It is now better known as the Marble Rocks over which the stream falls in a cascade and is one of the principal attractions of the district. From an inscription discovered at this place which is now kept in the American Oriental Society's Museum in New York it is evident that a temple was built on one of the hillocks by Queen Alhanadevi, the consort of King Gayakarna son of Yasahkarna and grandson of Karmadeva in the Kalachuri chedi year 907=1155-56 A. D. during the reign of her eldest son Narasimhadeva. This temple or rather the lower part of its *garbhagriha* still exists and is now known by the name of the temple of Gaum Sankara (Pl. XXIII a). The temple stands on the top of a hillock the upper part of which has been levelled. It is very peculiar in shape. The enclosure which surrounds it is circular the outer diameter of which was 130' 0" according to the measurements of Sir Alexander Cunningham<sup>1</sup>. The inner diameter was 116' 2". The temple itself stands inside this circular enclosure but not in the centre or on the centre line. It stands at a point which approaches too close to the circumference. Sir Alexander Cunningham was of opinion that this temple is of later date. The present temple is a comparatively modern building being made up partly of old carved stones and partly of bricks. It does not occupy the centre of the circle nor does its mid line even correspond with the mid line of the enclosure. The basement of the temple itself however appears to be old and undisturbed but much of the super structure and the whole of the portico are of later period. Looking at its position in the north western quadrant of the circle I am inclined to think that originally there must have been a similar shrine opposite to it in the south western quarter with the main temple occupying the eastern half of the circle immediately opposite the western entrance<sup>2</sup>.

If Cunningham's supposition is true then the temple which is situated inside this enclosure must have been those of triple shrined temple like the one which Karna built at Amarkantak. There are however no indications at present of the existence of two other temples but it is certain that the lower part of the temple of Gaum-Sankara is old<sup>3</sup>. The stones with which the steps for going up the hill have been built are taken from the ruins of an earlier structure. Numerous pillars stones with the *chattri* window pattern which must have been taken from the *Sikhara* are visible everywhere at this place. The existing temple faces the north and the plan of its *garbhagriha* is exactly the

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Survey Reports Vol. IX. pl. XII*

*ib. id.* p. 61

<sup>2</sup> The upper part resembles the later Chandella temples at Khajuraho e.g. the temple of Brahman (Pl. XXIII b)

same though on a reduced scale as one of the shrines of the triple shined temple of Karnur at Amarantak. The central buttresses or projections on the west and the south sides of the *garbhagruha* appear to be in their original positions as the two superimposed niches on each of these sides do not contain images but as in the temples at Amarantak diamond shaped rosettes. On account of the accumulated coats of white wash it is impossible to determine how much of this temple above these niches is original. The *mandapa* in front and the small shrine which contains the bull on the same platform are no doubt modern. This is evident from the *chhaya* which is supported by a series of small modern stone brackets built after the modern Benares style. On three sides of the *mandapa* there is a plain dado benches with backrests, the back of which is carved as a row of *kangurās*. In this *mandapa* only the pillars and the four dwarf pilasters appear to be old. They are of the same date as the temple of Somanatha at Deotia. There is a small *antarala* leading from the *mandapa* into the *garbhagruha* and the stone jambs of the doorway fitted between this *antarala* and the *mandapa* are certainly old. The right jamb bears a short inscription in four lines which states that the Mahārāja Gosaladevi mother of the Maharaja Vijayasinha along with her grandson Ajayasinha daily salutes the god (?) Vaidyanatha (Pl. LIV). This short votive inscription is another proof in support of the fact that the temple of Vaidyanatha built by Alhanadevi is the same as that which now goes by the name of Gauri Sinala at Bheraghat and which was visited by Gosaladevi the queen of Jayasinha and the mother of Vijayasinha who was the daughter-in-law of the same Queen Alhanadevi.

Of more interest is the circular cloister which consists of a huge thick wall along the outer edge of the circular platform, inside which there is a circular row of pillars and pilasters arranged in two concentric circles. A pillar in front and a pilaster at the back over the circular wall supported a flat roof with a low ribbed *chhaya* running all along. The shafts of these pillars and pilasters are plain (Pl. XXII, a). There is a plain vase with overhanging foliage at the corners of the shafts similar to that to be found on the pillars of the ruined temple at Karnabel. Many of the pillars have fallen carrying away portions of the roof with it. These have been replaced by plain modern ones and the roof over them repaired (Pl. XXII, b).

These repairs were carried out in recent times by the Public Works Department. But going over the structure carefully one comes to notice fragments of sculptures which have been employed during the erection of the circular back-wall proving that this back-wall had been erected at some later date, when the ruins of one of the temples were used for its construction. Originally there appears to have been a circular temple open on all sides. Let us in front and at the back? An examination of the exterior also reveals the fact that the contour of the back-wall does not correspond to the outer line or periphery of the basement. Cunningham also noticed the fact that the characters used

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham also noticed this and states that in the circular temple at Combaratore the enclosing wall reaches only to the shoulder of the statue. — *Archæological Survey of Reports* Vol. IX, p. 2.

in the inscriptions on these images placed in this circular cloister were earlier in date than the temple itself. "Nothing whatever is known about the builder of this curious temple and the only means we have left to fix the date are the shapes of the characters used in the inscriptions. The style of architecture is plain and simple, and may belong to any period between 900 and 1200 A. D. But the characters of the inscriptions point to the earlier date, as they correspond exactly with those of one of the inscriptions of Lakshmana who was the father of Yuvarāja, the contemporary of Vālpata of Malwa<sup>1</sup>."

We have here therefore a very definite evidence to prove the existence of an older shrine which was rebuilt by Queen Alhanādī, during the reign of her son Narasimhadēva in the Kolachūti Chedi year 907=1155 A. D. Cunningham says "My conclusion therefore is, that the Chaunsat Jogi temple was originally a simple circular enclosure, containing the figures of the Jogins, the wall being of the same height as the statues. This old wall, with the inscribed statues I would assign to the latter half of the tenth century. That the original wall was restricted to this height, is absolutely certain, from the difference of construction between the upper and the lower portions. The lower wall up to the heads of the statues is built throughout of large squared blocks of stone, in regular courses, which fit together accurately, while the upper portion is built of smaller stones of irregular shape and not accurately fitted the interspaces being filled in with small pieces. In this upper part, also, there are many carved stones, belonging to former buildings. I conclude, therefore, that the circular cloister, as it at present stands, is the work of two different periods: the old circular wall, with its inscribed statues, belonging to the tenth century, and the cloister, with its roof, being the work of queen Alhanā Devi in the twelfth century. To this latter period I would assign the portico pillars of the present temple<sup>2</sup>."

The images inside this circular temple fall into two broad groups. One class consists of standing figures carved out of a brittle reddish sandstone, which are not inscribed, while the second class consists of seated images and in the majority of cases carved out of a dull greenish yellow sandstone, which are invariably inscribed and the letters of which point to the tenth century as the date of their execution. Now the standing images are earlier in date than the seated images and here is therefore another clear indication of the fact that before the building of the circular temple in the tenth century A. D., another structure existed on this spot, which enshrined these images of brittle reddish sandstone. Cunningham also noticed this difference in the date of the images in the circular temple.

The statues are of two kinds, sitting and standing. There are, besides, four dancing female figures which are not inscribed, but one of them, No. 44, is certainly the skeleton goddess Kālī, and the others are no doubt only various forms of the same malignant deity<sup>3</sup>. The late Mr. Haranandan Pande,

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. IX, p. 71*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.



then Assistant Superintendent of the Central Circle of the Archaeological Survey, discovered several inscribed images of the Kushān period at this place. They are now kept in second Inspection Bungalow at the Marble Rocks. These images were found by Mr. Panday at Garrahat and Dhuandhar near Bheraghat. The inscriptions on these images prove that they belong to the Kushan period but the carving of these images is so crude that had it not been for their inscriptions it would have been impossible to assign them to the Indo-Scythian period. There is at least one image in the circular temple of Chaunsat Yoginis at Bheraghat which belongs to the same date as the Kushan images discovered by Mr. Panday. It is therefore extremely probable that there was a more ancient shrine on the top of the hill on which the circular temple stands erected in the Kushan period, in which these standing images of reddish brittle sandstone were originally enshrined. Further speculation about the nature and origin of the circular temple is sure to be futile so long as the top of the hill is not excavated.

Two other temples belonging to this period or group have been discovered at Deotalao, a village on the Calcutta-Bombay Road generally known as the Great Deccan Road, about sixty miles north east of Sdama station. The village contains three ancient structures. The biggest of them is the temple of Somanatha which is the most unobtrusive structure at this place (Pl. XXIV, b). In plan this temple consists of a *garbhagriha antarala* and a *mandapa*. The *garbhagriha* is oblong in shape and the *silhara* is a sunbosed squat, ugly looking thing, with a second chamber over the *garbhagriha*, which can be entered from a door which opens on the pyramidal roof on the *mandapa*. The temple has been heavily whitewashed but in spite of this fact it is quite certain that the present shape of the *silhara* is its original shape. The *amalakala* and the crest jewel (*chudamani*) are still in position. The *mandapa* is almost exactly similar to that of the temple of Vaidyanatha now called Gauri Sankara, at Bheraghat. It is a square structure the ceiling of which is supported by six dwarf pillars and four pilasters at the back. Four of the dwarf pillars stand in front and one on each side. Each of these rest on the benches which run along three sides of the *mandapa*, the space on the outside below the benches is ornamented with oblong panels alternately sun. On the sides of the *garbhagriha* there is a niche at the height of the roof of the *mandapa* on each face, containing a diamond shaped rosette. From the *silhara* of the temple at Bheraghat there is a plain *inga* inside the *garbhagriha* and the roof of the *mandapa* was originally pyramidal.

The second temple, at this place is called the temple of Bhairava (Pl. XXIV, a) and is a plain square shrine without a *mandapa* which is surrounded by open verandahs, supported on round columns with square bracket capitals. There are six plain round columns on each face. Some of the bracket capitals bear figures of dwarfs on the bottom of each arm. From this fact it is certain that this temple was rebuilt at some later date. The *silhara* of this temple resembles the hut-shaped roof of some of the later temples of Bengal.

The third temple at this place is built opposite the temple of Somanātha. It consists of a plain square cell with a stone *śikhara* of the same shape as the temple of Bhairava. Besides these temples at Deotalao there are other temples lying scattered in the states of Rewa, Panna, Nagode, Manhar and the British District of Jubbulpore which have not been properly surveyed as yet.

## CHAPTER III,

## Images and Sculptures.

The country which possesses so many ancient monuments, ranging in date from the earliest centuries of the Christian Era to the Muhammadan conquest, is also very rich in images and sculptures which lie scattered all over its surface from the southern bank of the river Tons to the banks of the river Narbada. Among these the very early sculptures cannot be discussed here. Such are the specimens at Kartalai and Tigowan. It is extremely difficult to arrive at any precise conclusion regarding the date of the images and sculptures discovered in the tract which was known to the ancients as Dhalb, because, in the majority of cases the images lie without any inscriptions and therefore there are no supplementary data on the basis of which any satisfactory conclusion regarding their dates can be arrived at. The specimens described in this chapter can be roughly divided into three different groups. The first group contains the oldest images the dates of which can be approximately deduced from a reference to them in inscriptions. The dates of these images fall in the reigns of Yuvrajadeva I and his immediate successors, viz. Lakshmanaraja, Samlragana and Yuvraj II. The oldest of them no doubt is the great *torana* which was brought from Gurga about half a century ago and has been re-erected in front of the Maharaja's Palace at Rewa.

This *torana* originally belonged to a temple of Śiva, as on its lintel we find two bas-reliefs representing the procession of gods going to the house of Himavā on the occasion of the marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī, the actual marriage of Śiva with the daughter of the lord of Mountains, Himalaya and the final return of the bride and the bridegroom to Mount Kailāsa. The villagers of Gurga point out a place on the great Gurgaj mound as the actual site from which the *torana* was removed to Rewa. As there are reasons to believe that the top of the Gurgaj mound was the original site on which Yuvrajadeva I built a very high temple of Śiva it can be safely asserted that the great *torana*, which now stands in front of the palace at Rewa, originally stood in front or formed a part of this great temple built by Yuvraj I. As it stands at present, this *torana* consists of two uprights or jambs and three horizontal beams or lintels. The uprights or jambs have now been strengthened by two modern jambs built by their side. When Mr. H. W. B. Gurney photographed this temple these jambs had not been erected. As a matter of fact they still remain incomplete. Portions of all pieces of stone used in the construction of this door-way have been more or less damaged and in many places the original carvings are missing. This damage may either be old or may have taken place at the time of the removal of the *Torana* to Rewa. What is to be deplored is the ruthless chiselling of old carvings in certain places in order to make room

for some modern additions. It is evident that when the *torana* was being set up at Rewa the officer of the Rewa State who was in charge of it tried to insert new pieces of carvings to replace partly damaged or entirely missing sculptures. On the whole the *torana* has been reconstructed on its original plan and the damage to it is not much. The uprights or jambs consist at the bottom of an octagonal base (Pl. XXV). Each face of this octagon bears in relief a small niche on a lotus bracket flanked by slender graceful round pilasters which support an architrave consisting of two superimposed *chantya* window panels. The majority of these niches contain the figure of a male standing which have been damaged in almost all cases. Above this octagonal base, there is a round moulding over which is another octagonal cornice. Over this cornice, the shaft of the pillar is octagonal and bears on each face a tall narrow niche supported on a bracket shaped as a sprawling dwarf (*gara*). On the sides of each of these niches are round pilasters. These pilasters bear an architrave, consisting of three miniature temples placed side by side. The central one of these miniature temples has a roof fronted by a *chantya* window panel but the shrines on the sides have roofs shaped like pyramidal *śikhara*s. In these roofs there is a larger panel in the centre with small ones on each side. In the roofs alone there are three large and six small niches the larger ones with a divine figurine. The larger panels below these roofs contain the figures of scantily clad females in varying attitudes. Over these larger niches the shaft of the pillar becomes narrow but remains octagonal. In this narrow portion there are two different bands bearing two groups of figures on brackets on each face. Each of these brackets have a fringe of *kirtimukha*s, from the mouths of which hang looped up garlands. The figures standing, on each of the brackets on each of these faces are three in number and in the majority of cases they are females. There are one or two males in certain cases and they appear to illustrate the *Konasutra* of Vatsyayana though many, which are now visible are not obscene. Above this narrow portion, the shaft of the pillar swells out again. In this thicker portion eight dwarfs support as many brackets over head. Over these brackets are a number of human figures some placed between rampant lions all of which are females. The execution of these female figures is very vigorous and reminds one of similar figures now in the Indian Museum originally brought from some temple at Bhuvanesvara in Orissa<sup>1</sup>. Over this portion the shafts of the jambs become thicker still and here again we see eight sprawling dwarfs supporting as many brackets with their hands and legs overhead. On each of these brackets we find either the figure of a beautifully proportioned female in a particular posture or that of a god or goddess. Thus in front of the left jamb there are three figures on three brackets. On the extreme left is a female standing in an elegant posture. In the bracket in front there is an image of Kartikēya with six heads and ten arms, standing under a tree with a fringe of mangoes. Some monkeys are playing on the top of the tree and Kartikēya's *vaṭana*

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archaeological Collection in the Indian Museum Part II pp. 216-21*

the peacock is standing on his left. The figure of a kneeling devotee is to be seen on the right. In one left hand the god holds a *lamandalu*, in another a shield, and a bird and a lotus stalk in two of the right hands. Some of the hands are broken. In the bracket on the right is the goddess Varāhī, one of the Seven Divine Mothers standing under a tree with a fringe of mangoes. The goddess can be recognised from her boars head. Her vehicle the Bull is seated to her left and a kneeling devotee appears on the right. Some of her hands are mutilated and the implements held in the remaining ones are a shield and a *lamandalu*. So also, in the corresponding place on the right jamb is found an image of Ganesa on the left with eight hands, dancing under a tree with a fringe of mangoes. He holds a pot of sweets (*modaka*) a battleaxe (*paraśu*) and a noose (*paśa*) in his right hands, the objects held in the left hands are broken. On the facet in front stands a female, with four heads and ten hands, evidently *Brahmanī* as she holds a book in one hand. The figure of a male, seated in meditation with his back turned towards the front is to be seen on her left side. On the extreme right is the standing figure of another female who is apparently not of divine origin. At this height, the shaft of each of the pillars do not bear any figure on one facet which was left empty for the reception of the tenons of the lowermost lintel. Above this portion the shaft of the pillar is still thinner and here also there are eight brackets supported on the legs and arms of as many *ganās*. Evidently this portion also bore seven or eight figures standing on brackets.

Either the shaft was broken at this height at the time of its discovery or it was cut away to reduce the height of the gateway at the time of its re-erection. In any case it is evident, that the topmost lintel which is now placed over these brackets could not have stood there originally. What the original design of this *torana* was it is not possible to imagine at present. The topmost lintel consists of three separate stone beams laid one over the other. The lowermost lintel bears on each face a row of *Intimukhas* alternately large and small. Looped garlands from which hang tassels issue from the mouths of these *Intimukhas*. The second lintel is more elaborately carved and consists of a quarterfoil arch the ends of which rest on the heads of two *malāras*. Two lions each with a human rider on its back, issue from the mouth of these *malāras* and stand under the two central arches. The meeting points of each of these arches culminate in round pendants shaped as lotus buds. The upper parts of each of these arches are joined by means of tenons to the upper or third lintel. On each side of these four arches there are a number of figures. Thus on the exterior of the *torana* as it stands now in front of the palace at Rewa there is a male seated at each end playing on a *vina*. By the side of each of these figures on the inside is a female standing with a garland. Near the goddess and at her feet i.e. between her figure and the head of the *malāra* on each side is a kneeling devotee. On the inner face i.e. the side which now faces the palace there is a seated figure on the left and then a female attendant finally a goddess standing and a kneeling devotee between the goddess

and the head of the *makara* on the left. The figures on the right have been damaged and here there is only the standing figure of the goddess and the kneeling figure of the devotee between her and the head of the *makara*. The curves of the arches bear large *kirtimukhas* in the centre and a thick semi circular band of carving on the sides.

The upper lintel consists of three pieces of stone laid one over the other of which the upper one is broader than the other two. The upper one bears a band of carving which is purely ornamental. This consists of a row of rosettes on the top and below it a row of small *kirtimukhas* with looped garlands hanging from their mouths. The second slab bears a row of flying figures on both sides. Thus on the outside is a male evidently a soldier at the left end. After him comes another female then comes another male with a female by his side. After them comes another female with a wheel. She is followed by another with a wheel. These two are evidently figures of Sarasvati and Vaishnavi. After Vaishnavi there is another male and female who are followed by another male holding a staff with his wife. Then comes another male who is followed by eight or nine other females. Similarly on the inner face we have a male playing on a drum in the centre. On each side there are a number of males and females the latter predominating in number while at the ends there are a number of modern figures. The third slab or the lower part of the upper lintel bears on it a very interesting bas-relief representing the marriage of Siva. On the inner side we have a single scene covering the entire length of the lintel representing the procession of the gods and the other semidivine beings leading Siva to the house of Himalaya. Beginning from the left we have two dancing human figures followed by a male with four hands who holds a trident in his upper left and a snake in his upper right. Evidently he is one of the attendants of Siva (*Sivagana*). After him comes a god on an antelope. His *vahana* indicates that he is Vayu. Then comes Varuna on his *Malara*. He is followed by two other gods on quadrupeds resembling antelopes. The third figure from Varuna is evidently that of Yama on his buffalo though the animal represented does not exactly resemble a buffalo. He is followed by another god on a goat who is evidently Agni the god of fire. Then comes Indra on his elephant followed by a bearded male who is walking. In the centre of the lintel are the three principal deities of the Hindu pantheon. Brahma on his goose on the left, Siva on his bull in the centre and Vishnu on Garuda on the right. Vishnu is followed by eight bearded Rishis and two more dwarfs who are walking. Behind the last Rishi comes the sun god on his chariot holding two lotus flowers with stalk in his hands. He is followed by the other planets each on his particular vehicle. Thus Moon, Mangala and Budha ride on quadrupeds. Brihaspati rides on a goose. Sukra and Saturn also ride on quadrupeds while the bust of Rahu has been placed on another chariot. Behind Rahu is a male with clasped hands evidently Ketu. The lower part of his body should be that of a snake but we cannot see from the ground level how the body has been treated (Pl. XXVI). On the other side the bas-relief on the uppermost lintel is divided into four different parts representing four

different scenes of the same event (Pl XXV). Beginning from the right there are modern figures of Ganēśa and two females carved on the right jamb. In front of them there are two bearded Rishis all proceeding towards the left. These Rishis hold in their left hands water bottles or *kamanḍalas* which resemble similar water bottles to be found in the basrelief representing the same scene in the verandah of Cave No. I at Badami.<sup>1</sup> In front of these Rishis is Śiva riding on his bull and in front of Śiva there are five more bearded Rishis and a small boy, all proceeding towards the left. In the second part we see Viṣṇu standing to the left and in his front another bearded Rishi. In front of the Rishi Śiva's bull is kneeling on the ground and Śiva himself is seen behind the bull going towards the right. This scene represents Śiva's arrival at the house of Himahya. The third part is in the centre of the lintel and is enclosed in a small panel flanked by round pilasters. This panel contains Śiva and Parvatī standing side by side and Brahmā standing to their right. According to Indian tradition Brahmā must be carved in the representation of the marriage of Śiva as the officiating priest.<sup>2</sup> The fourth part covers the remainder of this face of the lintel and consists of the procession returning to the abode of Śiva. Here we find four musicians and a Śivaguna standing to the left of the central panel. To their left is a bearded Rishi preceded by Śiva and Parvatī on the bull and they are again preceded by six Rishis. These basreliefs leave no doubt about the fact that this *torana* must have belonged to a temple of Śiva.

In the first terrace on the Gurgaj Mound at Gurgaj two large images are still lying which could not be removed on account of their great weight. The first of these is an image of Śiva and Durgā. This is 13 m. length and 5' 4" in breadth. It is unlike other images of Śiva and Parvatī usually to be found in Northern India because in this image Śiva is not seated with Parvatī on his lap but both are standing side by side with hands round each others shoulders. In the Gupti inscription this image is styled *Īśa* (Śiva) mixed with *Umā* (*Umayī śha mīśram=śam*).<sup>3</sup> Both of them have two hands and Parvatī holds a branch in her right hand. Śiva's left hand is broken. A bull stands to the left of Śiva and behind it is the mutilated figure of an attendant. Similarly there is a lion couchant to the right and a bearded male attendant behind it. There is a tree to the left of Śiva and a *Gondharva* pair on each side of the head of the couple. The image is so big and heavy that it is impossible to make it stand in an upright position without special appliances. The photograph shows it as it lies amidst the ruins of the temple, where it was originally dedicated, the very foundations of which have been dug up, for the sake of the stones with which they were built (Pl XXVII b). This image appears to be the same as that which was dedicated by the abbot Iṣṭanāṭha in some of the smaller temples around the great temple which is referred to in the Gupti inscription as being dedicated in the 'houses of gods'.

<sup>1</sup> See also B. L. K. of Bodhi (A. S. I. Memoir No. 2, p. 10).  
<sup>2</sup> T. A. Govala's *Iconography of the Hindu Gods*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 370.

<sup>3</sup> See Pl. C p. 1, 1 to below.

close to the palace (of Śiva) (*prasāda samahita devo griheshu*) The second image is that of Durgā as Uma which is to be found in a part of the same terrace on the Gurgū mound and is still in an upright position (Pl XXVII a) It is curved in the round and represents the goddess seated on a lotus in the *addha paryāṇḍa* posture She has one head and four hands of which three are broken The remaining one the upper left holds a rosary There is a large lotus shaped halo behind her head over which appears a lotus There is a female attendant standing on each side on a lotus bracket Over these there is a *Gandhārī* couple on each side of the halo By the side of each of these *Gandhārī* couples there is the figure of another female attendant standing on a lotus bracket with a *vānā* Under the lotus on which the goddess is seated there is a lion couchant *lei vahana* and under the right knee is a mutilated seated human figure Under the left knee is the kneeling figure of another devotee while behind him on a circular seat another mutilated male figure is to be found seated This image appears to be another of the images dedicated by the abbot Prasannasiva around the great temple of Śiva and is called Uma in the Gurgū inscription The date of these two images can therefore be safely fixed from the statements in the Gurgū inscription As Prabodhasiva was alive in 972 A. D. his spiritual preceptor can be said to have been living in the second quarter of the tenth century and both of these images can therefore be assigned to the same date The *torana* now standing at Rewa must have been built some years earlier Apparently it was built sometime in the first quarter of the tenth century

One of the few sculptures of this period which can be dated definitely is a plain square pillar bearing two sunken panels discovered at Chhoti Deori in the northern part of the Jabalpur District (Pl XXVIII a) This pillar bears on it two sunken panels one over the other The upper panel is square and contains the figures of a male and female seated side by side evidently Śiva and Durgā The lower panel is oblong with a round top and contains a standing figure with a bow The carving of these figures does not compare favourably with that of the images discovered at Chandreh and Gurgū This pillar bears an inscription which contains the name of Sambaragana, the eldest son and successor of Lakshmanaraja<sup>1</sup>

The small state of Maihar has not been thoroughly explored as yet so far as antiquities are concerned Two places visited in September 1921 yielded very good results The first of these is Maihar where a temple of Śiva built in the eleventh century A. D. was discovered The second place was a lofty plateau on the Kaimur range like that at Bhumra in the Nagod State where the ruins of numerous temples exist In the centre of this plateau is a tall peak on the top of which the ruins of an old temple are said to exist, but in September 1921 it was impossible to get through the impenetrable jungle which surrounded this peak on all sides and reach the top where the temple was situated Numerous images and sculptures were discovered on this plateau, one

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Archæological Survey Reports* Vol. XXI p. 100



of which at least is earlier in date than the rest and appears to belong to the tenth century A.D. This is an image of the man hon incarnation of Vishnu, which is in a tolerably good state of preservation (Pl. XXVIII, b). In this image the man hon is represented in a new fashion in comparison with the images with which one is familiar in Northern India. The god is standing with his left leg on the head of a demon who is lying prostrate on the ground. His right leg is pressed forward. He has four hands. The upper left hand is broken and the object held in the lower is indistinct. The upper right hand holds a wheel while the lower is engaged in tearing the entrails out of the demon lying Hiranyakshipu who is represented as falling down on the right. Hiranyakshipu has two hands and holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. The face of the god is that of a realistic hon and his head is covered with long shaggy manes out of which two ears project over the forehead. This type of the image of Narasimha is unique, as no such specimen is known to exist. Usually in images of the man hon, the god is seated and the figure of Hiranyakshipu is to be found lying prostrate on his knees.

Some of the images in the circular temple at Bheraghat either belong to this group of sculptures or is very closely allied to it. In this group there are two different classes of female figures, invariably seated, with a short inscription on the pedestal, as a label, carved out of a dull yellowish green sandstone. In the inscriptions on the pedestals of images of this class, the form of palatal *śa* used is the same as that to be found in the Gurgi inscription of Prabhodhasiva. In this form of *śa*, the right limb of the letter consists of a vertical straight line and the left limb of an S shaped loop, at the lower end of which is a triangle or wedge. This loop does not touch the straight line on the right in any case. On the basis of paleography therefore, such images in the circular temple at Bheraghat on which this particular form of the palatal sibilant has been used can be assigned to the tenth century A.D. The circular temple at Bheraghat however contains another type of images, also of female deities, which are not inscribed and which have been carved out of a brittle red sandstone which appears to be earlier in date than the first group (Pl. XXIX, b). There are five images of the second type in the circular temple at Bheraghat. In this class of images the figures are always standing and have been ruthlessly mutilated at some later date. This class of images is not inscribed but appear to belong to the Kushan period on the analogy of the images discovered by the late Mr Pandey at the same place<sup>1</sup>. These two classes however, can be readily distinguished by means of the difference in their style of execution.

As these images have not been properly described before a detailed account is given below.—Continued from the south of the entrance on the western side there are eight or nine images or fragments of images in this circular temple. Between each pair of pilasters there is a low pedestal of reddish white sand

stone in front of which is a niche containing a diamond shaped rosette Over each of these pedestals a statue has been placed --

1 Female with four hands seated on the back of an animal which looks like a camel All of her hands are lost On a recessed corner, on each side we find a male and a female seated Behind them on the left is a female, dancing with a skull cup (*kapala*) in her left hand and a trident (*trishula*) in her right The female on the right is also dancing She holds an elephant-goad (*ankusa*) in her left hand while the right is broken A *Gandharva* pair appears on each side of the halo The main figure wears a large number of ornaments On the pedestal we find the label *Sri Thakini*<sup>1</sup> (Pl XXXII b)

2 Female seated with four hands two of which are broken Of the remaining hands the left one holds a sword and the right a shield A bearded male is lying prostrate below her and an emaciated male is seated near his feet The head of a horse appears from under the lotus throne on which the goddess is seated A *Gandharva* pair and a female holding a garland appears on each side of the halo On the pedestal is the inscription *Sri Tarendi*<sup>2</sup> (Pl XXXII b)

3 Female seated with four hands on a lotus throne All hands are broken, but there is a Naga hood over her head and the crown on her head contains a *kirtimukha* in the centre A bearded male is lying on its breast under the lotus throne, on which the goddess is seated There is a male kneeling on each side of this bearded male and there is a female in addition to it on the left On the top are the usual *Gandharva* pair and an additional female attendant on each side of the halo The label on the pedestal marks it as *Sri Phanendri*<sup>3</sup> (Pl XXXI)

4 Four armed female seated on lotus placed on the back of a bull couchant with an attendant standing on each side of it A male is seated in front of a bull and two females are seated behind it All four hands of the female are broken

5 Female seated with four hands, all of which are broken, on a lotus throne, on the back of a quadruped which looks like an elephant but which has got claws on its feet instead of paws There are three skulls on the head dress of the main figure whose face is mutilated There are one standing and two seated attendants to the right of this figure while the left side is damaged. The damaged inscription on the pedestal labels it as *Sri Ksatra dharmini*<sup>4</sup>

6 Female seated with four hands on a throne placed on a lotus below which is a bull or horse down on its front legs All hands are broken There is a standing female attendant on each side with a seated male in front And

<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions on these images were read by Cunningham—*A S R Vol IX pp 63-70 pl XVI* The late Dr Thodor Bloch published revised readings of these labels in his conservation notes On Bheraghat, Fa harsabad Ragnath Bilhari and Tegowae in the Jabulpore District printed on 2nd March 1907 No 1 is Cunningham's No 21 and Bloch's No 82 See also Annual Report of the Arch Survey Eastern Circle for 1907-08 pp. 16-18 for a description of these figures. The numbering of the figures is the same in this report.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's No 80 Bloch's No 81

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's No 22 and Bloch's No 80.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's No 79 and Bloch's No 78

ther bearded male is seated in front of the bull or horse. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Satanusamara*<sup>1</sup>

7 Female with four hands three of which are broken. She is also headless and is seated on a cushion under which lies a bearded male. A *picta* represented as an emaciated human being holding a dagger stands on the left. Another *picta* is seated in front of this figure. To the left a female is standing with a fly-whisk while another male is seated at her feet. The goddess wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Bhishani*<sup>2</sup>

8 Vairavati. The head of the goddess with the upper part of the image is broken. She is seated on a lotus below which is a bearded male without wings kneeling representing Garuda. A male is seated on each side with a *vajra* while behind each is a female standing with a garland. This image is one of the best specimens of this group. The inscription on the pedestal labels her correctly as *Sri Vairavati*<sup>3</sup> (Pl. XXII a)

9 A mutilated female standing with four hands. Her head and all hands are broken. There is no inscription on the pedestal. The image itself appears to be too large for the old pedestal or throne on which it has been placed<sup>4</sup>

10 The lower part of a female figure seated on a cushion on the back of an elephant. There is a female kneeling on the left and a male kneeling on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Dhavalidhar*<sup>5</sup>

11 Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus placed on the back of a bull couchant. There is a standing female attendant on each side. In addition to this we find a male with four hands in one of which he holds a sword and behind him on a recessed corner a female kneeling facing the main figure with clasped hands. There are two labels on the pedestal both of which read *Sri Ghamali*. Evidently one was incised when the first one had become worn and illegible<sup>6</sup>

12 Female seated with four hands which has lost its head and all hands. She is seated on a cushion on the back of a bird. The lower right hand part of the back slab is broken. To the left of the bird we find a male kneeling with clasped hands on a lotus. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Tatkini*

13 Female seated with two hands and holds a *glata* or *kalasa* upside down in her right hand while the left and her head is broken. There is a female attendant standing with a garland on each side and below her two males on the left and a male and a female on the right kneel on recessed corners. The goddess is seated on a cushion on the back of a peacock. The inscription on the pedestal is partly legible and reads *Sr Jalas*<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's No. 42 Bloch read *Sri Satana* (?) *satana* (No. 77)

Cunningham's No. 41 Bloch read *Sr Bhishani* (No. 76)

Cunningham's No. 73 and Bloch's No. 75

<sup>4</sup> This image is earlier in date than the inscribed ones Bloch's No. 74

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's No. 38 Bloch read *Sri Dhavalidhar* (No. 77)

Cunningham's No. 3 Bloch's No. 2

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's No. 56 and Bloch's No. 71 Bloch read *Sr Tatkini*

<sup>8</sup> Cunningham's No. 26 and Bloch's No. 70

14 Lower part of a female seated on a cushion supported by Garuda. There is a female attendant on each side and a male kneeling on a recessed corner on the right. A female and a child are seated on the left. The inscription on the pedestal is mutilated and may be read tentatively as *Sri Rangini*.<sup>1</sup>

15 A large pedestal on which are the lower parts of a small image representing a male prostrate as well as fragments from the upper part of an image of an emaciated goddess perhaps Chamunda (?). There is no inscription on its pedestal.

16 Female seated with four hands all of which as well as the head are broken. She is seated on a lotus throne on the back of a lion and has a female attendant standing with a garland on each side. In front of the figure on the left a second female figure is kneeling. Below the left knee of the goddess a female is seated on a cushion. The goddess wears a garland of human skulls and the inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Darppahni*.<sup>2</sup>

17 Lower part of a (?) female figure seated cross legged on a lotus throne. There is a female with a garland on each side. Then on the right side under the lotus there are two males kneeling with top knots similar to those usually to be seen in images of Krishna. Behind them there is a male seated. To the left of the stalk we find one male standing and another human figure seated at its feet. A third human figure is seated on a plain seat to the left and behind him the lower part of another kneeling human figure is to be seen. On each side of this group there is a mutilated female figure seated on a recessed corner. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Vamdhani*.<sup>3</sup>

18 Lower part of a female seated on a lotus throne with one leg hanging down. She has four hands all of which appear to be emaciated and she is clad in a lion's skin over her elaborate *sari* the head of which appears on her left thigh. There is a headless male figure prostrate under the lotus, with its back upwards resting on its left knee and left elbow. The figure has lost its head. The emaciated figure of a *preta* is standing with a dagger on the left, and another is seated with a sword in front of the first. The figures of two other *pretas* one standing and the other kneeling are to be seen to the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Dakini*.<sup>4</sup>

19 Image of Ganga with four hands three of which with the face are broken. The remaining hand which is the lower left is in the posture of blessing (*Varada mudra*). The goddess is seated on a lotus throne on the back of a *mahara*. She has a female attendant standing on each side a kneeling male on the right and a similar female on the left on recessed corners. The label on the pedestal is *Sri Jalani*.<sup>5</sup> (Pl. XXX. c)

20 Female seated with four hands all of which with the head are broken. One of her left hands is in the *Varada-mudra*. In addition to the hands she has two wings. The lotus on which she is seated is placed on the back of

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's No. 34 Bloch read *Lingini* No. 64

Cunningham's No. 32 and Bloch's No. 67

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's No. 31 and Bloch's No. 66

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's No. 30 and Bloch's No. 65

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's No. 29 and Bloch's No. 64

a horse, which is going to the left. There are two female attendants on each side one standing and the other seated. In addition to these four figures, another female is seated on each side with a *uma* below the knee of the goddess. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Gandhari* <sup>1</sup>

21 Lower part of a female figure seated on a peculiar animal which has the body of a boar, the head and manes of a lion and the hands of a human being. There is a standing female and two seated male attendants on each side. The inscription on the pedestal labels it as *Sri-Ratshamadā* <sup>2</sup>

22 Lower part of a female seated, with one leg on the ground. The cushion on which she is seated is placed on the back of a fully caparisoned horse. There is a female attendant on each side and a male is seated below the left knee of the goddess. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Dad-dari* <sup>3</sup>

23 Female with eight hands all of which along with the head are broken. She is seated on a cushion which is placed on the back of a peculiar animal, perhaps a bird. It has the beak of a bird but the body of a tortoise. Below her right knee a bearded male is lying partly on one side, resting on its left knee and elbow with his face upwards. There is a female attendant on each side and a male seated with clasped hands in adoration, on a recessed corner on the left. The main figure wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Lamputa* <sup>4</sup>

24 Lower part of a female figure, seated on a cushion which is placed on the back of a bull couchant. There is a female attendant standing on each side seated in front of whom is a male. Below the right knee of the goddess is another female kneeling with hands clasped in adoration. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Nalini* <sup>5</sup>

25 Lower part of a female seated on a lotus below which is a bull rampant. There is a female attendant on each side the left one being emaciated. In addition to this there is a four armed female under each knee of the goddess. A male is kneeling on a recessed corner to the left and a female at a similar place on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Uttala* <sup>6</sup>

26 Lower part of a female figure, seated on a lotus the stalk of which rises behind the back of a bull couchant. There is a female attendant on each side and three mutilated seated figures on the pedestal. The inscription on the pedestal labels it as *Sri-Jhu(?)nyini*

27 Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus below which appears the bust of a seated elephant. There is a standing female attendant on each

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham s No 26 and Bloch s No 63

<sup>2</sup> *Gun naham* read *Sr-tsamada* (No 27) which was correct, but Bloch suggested *Jhathamal* which is untenable (No 62)

<sup>3</sup> Both Cunningham (No 40) and Bloch (No 61) read *Sri-Di-dari* though Bloch stated that the reading was uncertain

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham s No 25 and Bloch s No 60

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham s No 17 and Bloch s No 53

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham s No 24 and Bloch s No 58

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham s No 40 Bloch read *At-gu* (No 57)

side To the left of the pedestal a bearded male is seated on a lotus while to the right a female is seated with hands clasped in adoration on a similar bracket The inscription on the pedestal is illegible<sup>1</sup>

28 An empty pedestal on which the fragments of two female figures belonging to two different periods have been placed

29 Female figure with four hands seated on a lotus throne All hands and the head are broken Below the lotus is a ram evidently her *vahana* An emaciated figure a *preta* is standing to the left while a female appears on the right To the right of the ram two other *pretas* are seated on recessed corners The recessed corners on the right are occupied by two seated human figures The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Ga(?)kara*<sup>2</sup>

30 Female seated with four hands all of which with the head are broken There is a female attendant standing on each side with a garland in front of each of which a *preta* is seated The *preta* on the left holds a dagger and that on the right a skull cup The *preta* on the left holds a conical object in addition which looks like a nineteenth century crinoline An elephant is seated below the lotus on which the goddess is seated The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Indrajit*<sup>3</sup>

31 Female with four hands all of which are broken seated on a square throne placed on rock Two hands held a *vina* traces of which are still to be seen on her right shoulder and the left knee There is a female attendant standing on each side The recessed corners on the right are occupied by two males and those on the left by a female The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Thara*<sup>4</sup>

32 Female with four hands all of which are broken seated on a lotus below which appears an emaciated bull *stutant* There is a female attendant on each side while two males are seated to the left of the pedestal A mutilated human figure is seated to the right of the bull while behind it appears the figure of a male The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Isvara*<sup>5</sup>

33 An empty pedestal on which fragments of a dancing male figure have been placed<sup>6</sup> A small but worn out sculpture is embedded in modern masonry to the left of this pedestal on which is the lower part of an image evidently of a male who is seated cross legged on a lotus On the edge of the lotus is an inscription in one line below which is a pair of sandals The record is mutilated and begins with the words *Brahmāra Tulaprasa Dāmanā rasulho aya pūjita*

The characters belongs to the 11th century A.D. To the left of the sandals a female is kneeling down in adoration with her forehead almost touching the ground To the right of the sandals are three females seated with offerings in their hands (Pl. XXXIII)

<sup>1</sup> This is most probably the *Indra* of Cunningham (No. 51) and Bloch (No. 6)

Probably Bloch's No. 55

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's No. 43 Bloch read *Ekan* (No. 54)

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's No. 18 and Bloch's No. 53

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's No. 16 Bloch did not attempt to read this label (No. 52)

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's No. 16 and Bloch's No. 51

<sup>6</sup> This image is also earlier in date than the embedded specimens and most probably belongs to the Kushan period

34 Lower part of seated female figure on a lotus below which appears the prostrate body of a male. There is a female attendant with a garland on each side. A male is seated to the left of the male lying under the lotus and two seated human figures are to be noticed to the right. The pedestal is damaged and there is no inscription on it. To the right of this figure there is a mutilated standing female figure with a peacock near her left foot. This figure also belongs to an earlier period.

35 Mutilated female figure, seated with four hands. The throne on which she is seated is placed on a bird. There is a female with a garland bearer on each side and two headless seated human figures on each side of the bird. The inscription on the pedestal is mutilated and reads *Sri Hasm* and may be restored as *Sri Hasmu*.<sup>1</sup>

36 Lower part of a mutilated female figure seated cross legged, on a throne placed on a lotus. On each side of the stalk of the lotus is a female with four hands seated on a lotus. A smaller human figure holding a vase is also seated on each side of the stalk while a female attendant is kneeling on a recessed corner on each side. Above her is to be seen the figure of an attendant and a male on the left and a female on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Padmakhamsa*.<sup>2</sup>

37 Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus below which appears a fully caparisoned horse going towards the right. There is a female attendant standing on each side and the remains of two kneeling human figures on the right and one on the left. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Topani*.<sup>3</sup>

38 Female figure with at least six hands all of which are broken. She is seated on a lotus to the right of the stalk of which is a lion statant. A female holding a sword and a shield is seated to the left of the lion while to her left is a female standing with a *kamandalu* or a *dumaru* slung from her right hand. The bust of a female attendant standing with a garland appears above her. Under the right knee of the goddess is another female seated with a bow and arrow. Behind her on a recessed corner is a female attendant kneeling with clasped hands while over her is the upper part of another female attendant standing with a garland. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Taku*.<sup>4</sup>

39 Lower part of female figure. A portion of one of the right hands holds a bunch of pearls. Under the lotus on which the goddess is seated is a bull couchant. There is a female attendant standing with a garland on each side, while on a recessed corner to the left a bearded male is seated with hands clasped in adoration. The recessed corner on the right is occupied by a seated female. The main figure wears a garland of skulls. The inscription on the pedestal labels the figure as *Sri Mahesvari*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham No. 14 and Bloch's No. 47

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham No. 11 Bloch read Padmakhamsa (No. 46)

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham No. 10 Bloch read Jayan (No. 4)

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham No. 2 and Bloch's No. 44

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham No. 8 and Bloch's No. 43

7

40 Lower part of a female figure seated on a cushion with one leg hanging down. Below the lotus is a bird going to the right. There is a female standing with a garland on each side. In front of the figure on the left a female is kneeling holding up a round tray containing round fruits or sweets with both of her hands. A similar figure on the right holds a fly whisk. In front of these two kneeling figures there are two other figures. That on the left holds a *vina* in his hands while that on the right is mutilated. The inscription on the pedestal labels the figure as *Sri Balmani*<sup>1</sup> and the bird therefore, is a goose or *hansa* the vehicle of Brahman.

41 A rare and interesting figure is the female counter part (*śakti*) of Ganeśa. She is seated on a lotus leaf with one leg hanging down and has the head of an elephant with characteristic broad ears. Unfortunately all of her hands are broken. Below her right knee Ganeśa is squatting holding the knees up with his right hand. There is a female attendant standing with a garland on each side. Two human figures of whom one is a female are to be found to the left of the pedestal while to the right a male is kneeling on a recessed corner. The inscription on the pedestal does not label her as *Ganeśvari* but calls her *Sri-Anqini*.\*

42 Female seated cross legged on a lotus. She had four hands all of which and the head are broken. There is a female attendant on each side of the lotus throne and a human figure is seated with a *vina* on each side of the stalk. That on the left is a male and that on the right a female. On a recessed corner a male is kneeling on the left while the corresponding recessed corner on the right is occupied by a kneeling female. The inscription on the pedestal is not legible.\*

43 The lower part of a broken image showing a bearded male lying on his breast with a group of *pretas* standing or squatting on each side. Thus on the left two *pretas* are standing with daggers in their left hands and two more squatting on the ground. To their right appears the head of a jackal. On the right again two *pretas* are standing and three seated. Over this fragment is another one showing an emaciated female with eight hands two of which holds the skin of an elephant over her head. This fragment may be the upper part of the image. The inscription on the left corner of the pedestal labels her as *Sri Chandraika*.<sup>4</sup>

44 A very large pedestal with a small image the head and hands of which are broken. She is seated on a lotus throne under which is a lion couchant. There is a female attendant with a garland on each side. Two figures are seated on the left and one on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Ajita*.<sup>5</sup>

45 Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus below which appears a caparisoned horse which has lost its head. As usual there is a female

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's No. 7 and Bloch's No. 42.

Cunningham's No. 54 and Bloch's No. 41.

<sup>3</sup> This is most probably *Ananda* (No. 6 of Cunningham) which Bloch proposed to read *4 Aj* (No. 40).

<sup>4</sup> The correct reading is *Ananta* (18.10.25). Cunningham's No. 4 and Bloch's No. 39.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's No. 3 and Bloch's No. 38.



attendant with a garland on each side. In addition to this there are four kneeling figures on the pedestal two on each side. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Chhotra samvara* <sup>1</sup>

46 Image of Ganesa dancing. The main figure has become detached from the pedestal and has lost its head and hands. The inscription on the pedestal also gives the name as *Sri-Garasa* <sup>2</sup>

47 A small niche which appears to be modern and contains a fragment of a stone doorjamb with the figure of a Siva gana <sup>3</sup>

48 Lower part of a female figure seated with one leg hanging down. Below the lotus is a headless lion. A female attendant is standing with a garland on each side and two seated or kneeling human figures are to be found on each side of the pedestal. The inscription labels her as *Sri Radhaldevi* <sup>4</sup>

49 A standing figure carved in the round. There is a kneeling bull on the pedestal and standing and a seated female attendant with a standing male on the right and one standing male with two kneeling male figures on the left. There is no inscription on it. With the exception of two of the arms the main figure has been cut out of the slab.

50 Lower part of a female figure with at least four hands. She is seated on a lotus with one leg hanging down. Below the lotus is a bird. There is a female attendant standing on each side with a garland and a kneeling devotee on each side of the leg. The inscription on the pedestal reads *Sri Masa(?) varadhan*.

51 A standing figure of Ganesa with four hands. No inscription.

52 Dancing female figure with a peacock to her left. No inscription.

53 Lower part of a female figure seated cross-legged on a lotus throne. Below the lotus are two kneeling devotees seated face to face. On each side of these devotees there is a divine figure that on the left being a male holding a *trina* in its two hands that on the right appears to be figure of Brahma or Sarasvati as it also holds a *trina* in two of her hands. She also holds a book in her upper left hand and a vase or *tanandala* in her right hand. A kneeling devotee on a recessed corner is to be found on each side of the pedestal over which appears the bust of a female attendant holding a garland. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Akhala* <sup>5</sup>

54 Female figure, seated on a lotus with four hands all of which are broken. The head which has been fitted on this figure does not belong to it. There is a parrot or a bird with a curved beak to the left of the lotus. On each side, is a female attendant. The figure on the left holds a mirror and a dagger while that on the right is plying a fly-whisk. There are two mutilated seated figures on the left and two headless seated females one of which has four hands, two of which hold a sword and a skull cup, on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Pimgala* <sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's No. 9 and Bloch's No. 37

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's No. 1 and Bloch's No. 36

<sup>3</sup> The original main entrance into the circular temple comes after image No. 47

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's No. 89 and Bloch's No. 34

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's No. 7 and Bloch's No. 29

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's No. 70 and Bloch's No. 28

55 Headless female figure all hands broken seated with one leg langing down on a lotus below which appears a horse or an ass going to the left There is a female attendant standing on each side holding a lotus In addition to these there are at least three females on the right and one to the left all seated or kneeling with offerings in their hands The goddess wears a garland of skulls The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Shardam*<sup>1</sup>

56 A beautiful figure of *Malislanandini* with sixteen hands The goddess stands with her left foot bent forward which rests on the body of the buffalo demon The lion the vehicle of the goddess is biting the back of the buffalo and a wheel and an arrow are embedded in its body The severed head of the demon is lying in front of its body while below the body is a kneeling male and in front of it a headless female Behind the lion a demon is assaulting the goddess with a short sword Out of the nine hands on the left side one holds a trident and another is drawing an arrow out of the quiver at the back Out of the nine hands on the right three only are preserved One holds a conch while the others hold two different shields The inscription on the pedestal is curious as it labels the goddess as *Sri Zanama*<sup>2</sup> (Pl XXX 6)

57 An empty pedestal with the upper part of an image of Siva with ten or twelve hands dancing the Tandava Two of the right hands hold the skull mace (*Matanga*) and a shield

58 Female seated with one leg hanging down on a lotus which is supported by a kneeling male figure evidently Ga'uda The goddess had four hands, all of which are broken In addition to the female attendant standing holding a garland there is a fat male seated on each side The inscription on the pedestal calls her *Sri Avalokanvara*<sup>3</sup>

59 Lower part of a female seated crosslegged on a lotus and below the lotus a prostrate bearded male Two female figures are seated on each side and another is standing behind them The inscription on the pedestal partly defaced labels her as *Sri Pandava*<sup>4</sup>

60 Lower part of a female and below it a bull couchant An emaciated female is seated to the right of the bull No inscription

61 Dancing female figure with an elephant couchant to the left and a headless male attendant to right No inscription<sup>5</sup>

62 Lower part of a female figure seated with one leg on the ground Below the lotus is a tortoise On the left is a kneeling male and there is a standing female attendant on each side holding a garland The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Yamuna*<sup>6</sup>

63 Lower part of a female figure seated crosslegged on a lotus Pedestal broken A four headed deity is seated with a *vara* in two hands to the left

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's No 53 and Bloch's No 27

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's No 55 and Bloch's No 26

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's No 72 and Bloch's No 24

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's No 57 Bloch read *S. Pandava* (No 23) correctly

<sup>5</sup> This specimen also is earlier than the inscribed images and belongs to the Kushan period

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's No 68 and Bloch's No 20

of the pedestal and to the right is seated a female with one head and four hands. There is a kneeling devotee on a recessed corner on each side. No inscription.

64 Seated female figure with four hands, all broken with the exception of the lower part of the lower left hand which holds a sword. There is a garland bearing female attendant on each side. Below on the pedestal a nude male is to be seen squatting under the lotus on which the goddess is seated. There are two kneeling devotees, one female and another male kneeling to the left and the mutilated figure of another kneeling devotee is to be seen to the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Audana* <sup>1</sup>.

65 Female seated with four hands, all of which along with the face are gone. The pedestal is also mutilated. We have here as in the preceding case a garland bearing female on each side and then two kneeling devotees to the left and one similar figure to the right. Below the throne of the goddess is a deer seated. The inscription has disappeared.

66 Mutilated female figure with a boar's head. She had four hands, all of which are gone. The mutilated figure of a quadruped which cannot be recognised is to be seen below the lotus on which she is seated. There is a standing garland bearer on each side, two kneeling devotees to the right and a single one to the left. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Jayaravi* <sup>2</sup>.

67 Mutilated seated female figure. She had four hands, out of which the lower left holds a rosary. There is a bird under the lotus on which she is seated. The usual garland bearing female attendant is to be seen on each side. There are two kneeling devotees to the right and one on the left. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Khemakhi* <sup>3</sup>.

68 Female seated cross legged on a lotus. She had four hands, all of which are mutilated and the head has been joined on later. Below the lotus three devotees and the usual garland bearing female are to be seen on each side. There are two inscriptions on the pedestal, one of which is old and worn out. The other labels her as *Sri Tiravatteta* <sup>4</sup>. The lotus on which she is seated springs out of a vase in the centre of the pedestal.

69 Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus with the right leg hanging down. She had at least six hands. Under the lotus is another full blown lotus, the calyx of which contains the *Tundru* emblem of crossed triangles (*Shalona*) with the mystic symbol *Hrim* in its centre. There is a male attendant on the left on a recessed corner holding a cup and a skull mace (*hatanga*). In front of him is a seated female holding a sword in her left hand and a human head in her right. There is a female attendant on a recessed corner to the right holding a sword and a shield and in front of her is another

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham read *A rana* (No 65) which is inadmissible. Bloch omitted the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham No 64. Bloch read the name as *Sri Jambavat* (No 16).

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham (No 63) and Bloch (No 15) both read *Khemakhi*.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham No 6 and Bloch No 14.

seated human figure very much mutilated. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Saivatomukhi*<sup>1</sup> (Pl XXXII c)

70 Lower part of a female figure seated on a lotus. Below the lotus two males are seated face to face with hands clasped in adoration. There is the usual garland bearing female attendant on each side and two kneeling devotees in front of the pedestal on each side of it. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Mamodari*.\*

71 Bear headed female seated with one leg down. She had at least four hands, all of which are broken. Below the lotus on which she is seated is a bull running to the right. Under her left knee is a female seated with four hands holding a noose in one of her left hands and a bow in one of her right hands. Under her right knee is another seated female, holding a sword in her left hand. On a recessed corner on each side is to be found the usual garland bearing female attendant with a kneeling devotee in front of her. The inscription on the pedestal labels her correctly as *Sri Parahi*.<sup>3</sup>

72 Female seated with one leg hanging down, on a lotus throne. She had at least four hands of which only one right hand remains unjured and in which she holds a shield. A bearded male is lying prostrate on the ground under the lotus. To the left are to be seen two *gatas* one standing and the other seated. The main figure wears a garland of skulls and her eyes appear to be darting out of their sockets. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Vibhansa*.<sup>4</sup>

73 Female seated with one leg down on the ground. She had eighteen hands most of which are mutilated. In one of the right hands she holds a shield. Under the cushion, on which she is seated is lion statant. To the left of the lion, is a goddess seated wearing a head dress of skulls and holding a skull cup in one of her right hands. To the right is another goddess with four hands in one of which she holds a sword. Behind her on a recessed corner is another goddess also wearing a head dress of skulls holding a sword in one of her hands and a skull cup in her right hands. Above her appears the bust of another female attendant. A recessed corner on the left is occupied by the mutilated figure of a standing female attendant with a kneeling devotee in front of her. The inscription on the pedestal labels this figure as *Sri Nandini*.<sup>5</sup>

74 Seated figure of a bear headed goddess. One of her legs is resting on the ground. Below the lotus on which the goddess is seated is a seated quadruped with long horns ('antelope'). There is the usual garland bearing female attendant on the right. The female attendant standing on the left holds a fly whisk. There is a kneeling devotee on each side of which that to the right is a female and the one to the left is mutilated. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Erib* (Pl XXXII a)

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's No. 61 and Bloch's No. 13

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's No. 62 and Bloch's No. 12

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's No. 46 and Bloch's No. 11

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's No. 6 and Bloch's No. 10

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's No. 50 and Bloch's No. 9

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's No. 52 Bloch suggested *Blaghi* (No. 8)

75 Mutilated figure of a goddess, probably with the head of a lion. There is a mutilated quadruped under the lotus on which she is seated. Two *preta* attendants, one seated and the other standing, are to be seen on the left and another to the right.

76 Female seated with one leg hanging down. She had four hands, all of which are broken. Her eyes appear to be darting out of their sockets and her hair is arranged as an aureole consisting of small curls, behind her head. The left portion of her pedestal is damaged. To the right, a male is seated, holding a pen and an ink pot. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri-Ashtakar*.<sup>1</sup>

77 Female, seated, with four hands, all of which are broken. She wears a head-dress made of skulls. Below the lotus seat is an elephant couchant. A garland-bearing female attendant is standing on each side. In front of each is a kneeling and garland-bearing figure, a male on the left and female on the right. In front of these there are two seated figures on lotus brackets, the one on the left being a male, with his head bowed down over his hands, which rests on his left knee and which is slightly raised to support it. The figure on the right is a female. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Rana jvā* (Pl XXXII, c).<sup>2</sup>

78 Female, with four hands, all of which are broken. She is seated in a curious posture as the soles of her feet meet in front of her. Below the lotus on which she is seated two figures, evidently males, are seated face to face, with hands clasped in adoration. On each side of this group we find a female, with four hands playing on a *vand*. On a recessed corner, on each side a garland-bearing female is standing with a kneeling devotee in front of them. The cushion on which she is seated is curved to represent in front the female genital organ. The inscription of the pedestal labels her as *Sri Kumada*.<sup>3</sup>

79 Female, seated, with four hands, in the left of which she holds a lotus and a mace. Under the lotus, on which she is seated, is a *melava*. There is the usual garland-bearing female on each side and there are two seated devotees to the left and one on the right. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Rāpin*.<sup>4</sup>

80 Female seated with four hands all of which, with the face, are broken. Below the lotus on which she is seated, is a squatting male, with the head of a lion. To the left, a headless *preta* is standing with a dagger, while another headless *preta* is seated in front of the first *preta* with another dagger. To the right a *preta* is eating something, while in front of him is seated another with a skull cup in his hand. The inscription on the pedestal labels her as *Sri Simha Simhā*.<sup>5</sup>

81 Empty pedestal with a crude male figure in red sandstone. This image is evidently of the same period as those described images of the Kushan period.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's No. 74 and Bloch's No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham's No. 12 and Bloch's No. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham's No. 6 and Bloch's No. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this is Cunningham's No. 35, Bloch read *Jhashin* (No. 3).

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's No. 71 and Bloch's No. 2.

discovered by the late Mr Haranandan Panday at Dhuwan Dhar and Garraghat near Bheraghat<sup>1</sup>

Inside the sanctum of the temple of Gauri Sankara at Bheraghat a large number of images have been collected. The object of worship in that temple is a fine image of Śiva and Durgā seated on the back of the bull Nandi which is standing facing the right. Both of them have two hands. Śiva holds a trident (*triśula*) in his right hand and Parvatī a mirror (*darpana*) in the same hand. Between the feet of the bull are two seated figures on the sides of an indistinct object which may be the remains of a human figure seated cross-legged with his back towards the front. On the right of the bull there is a standing and a kneeling attendant and on the left a fat dwarf is standing in front of whom is Kārttikeya on his peacock. On the pedestal there is a sunken panel containing a bas-relief. At each end of this bas-relief a devotee is kneeling on a recessed corner. In the panel itself there is a devotee at each end kneeling with his hands clasped in adoration and between them are seven dwarfs three of whom are playing on horns one on a flute while two others are dancing. On the backslab there are two pillars with Brahma seated on the capital of that on the left and Vishnu on the right. There is a big halo behind the head of the main group on each side of which is a *Gandharva* pair carrying garlands. The execution of this image shows that the sculpture belongs to the first group rather than to the second i.e. it belongs to the same date as the images of the Yoginis<sup>2</sup>

The same remark may be applied to a fine image of Vishnu and Lakṣmī fixed in the wall. Garuḍa is kneeling on the pedestal and on his shoulders rests a throne on which Vishnu is seated with one leg hanging down. Lakṣmī is seated on the right lap of Vishnu with her right leg hanging down which is being held up by Garuḍa. Vishnu has four hands out of which the left hands hold the mace and the conch. The objects held in the right hand are indistinct. There is a *Gandharva* pair on each side of the halo and below the left knee of Vishnu a bearded Rishi is seated. To the right of Garuḍa another figure is seated with clasped hands apparently a devotee.

There is an image of Surya in the same place which apparently belongs to the second group or period. The finest image in this temple after the main figure is an image of Ganeśa dancing with eight hands (Pl XXXIV a). The god is standing on a lotus springing from a mass of arabesque foliage. His right leg rests on a big lotus while the left being pressed forward is placed on a smaller lotus springing from the same stalk. A quadruped intended to be the representation of a rat is to be seen between the feet of the god. The god has eight hands in two of which he holds a snake over his head. The other right hands hold a battleaxe (*paraśu*) a lotus (*padma*) and a noose (*pāśa*).

<sup>1</sup> See ante Chap II p 70. The earlier date of this figure was acknowledged by Bloch in 1907. He says a figure of a standing male head broken made of redsprinkled sandstone which is found in the quarries near Fatehpur Salm in the Agra District. This statue though of little artistic value is much older than the Chaurasath Yogini images (No 1)—Annual Report, Eastern Circle 1907/08 p 1.

<sup>2</sup> This image is now the principal object of worship in this temple.

Of the left hands one holds a pot of sweets, one is indistinct and the third is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. There is a standing attendant on each side. In front of the figure on the right, a male is kneeling, playing on a drum, while a female is kneeling in front of the attendant on the left. Three headless figures are to be seen on each side of the peculiar halo. The god is lifting up sweets from the pot held in one of his left hands, with his trunk and he wears a sacred thread made of snakes.

In the second group of sculptures *i.e.*, the sculptures which can be assigned to the reign of Karmadēva and his immediate successors and predecessors, precision in date is impossible, on account of the want of dated or inscribed sculptures. Sculptures and bas-reliefs are more plentiful in number in this group than in the first one. The best specimens among them, however, come from Tewar, the ancient Tripuri which was the capital of Haihayas and from Sobagpur in the southern part of the Rewa State. The very best sculptures in the modern village of Tewar have been collected on a platform built at one end of the stepped well in this village, described above<sup>1</sup>. The platform is now known as the shrine of Kher Mai.

At this place there is a bas-relief measuring 3 9½" in length and 1 11½" in breadth carved out of reddish sand stone (Pl. XXXIV, b). In this bas-relief a male is lying on a bed under some trees. A female at the head of the bed, *i.e.*, at the extreme right of the bas-relief is bending over the face of the male. The right hand of the male is placed near his right ear, as if he is trying to listen to something which is being whispered into his ears by the female. The left hand of the male is placed on his right leg which is crossed over his left one. This left leg is placed on a round thick cushion at the foot of the bed on which another female is seated facing the left with her hands clasped in adoration. To the left of this female figure a second female is seated on another thick round cushion. She has two hands and is therefore an ordinary mortal. On the extreme left a female attendant is carrying some indistinct object in her hands. There is a short inscription on the pedestal consisting of two lines in Prakrit which cannot be read any longer. This sculpture appears to have been discovered after the visit of Sir Alexander Cunningham to Tewar as a photograph taken by him shows the beautiful bust of the female, which is seen to the left of this slab, but not this bas-relief.

To the same period may be assigned a beautiful image of Karttikēya discovered at the same place (Pl. XXXV, b). In spite of its mutilation the image is still the most striking specimen in the group of sculptures collected at the shrine of Kher Mai. The god is standing on the ground and the body of his vehicle, the peacock, is to be seen behind him. He has three heads and altogether twelve hands all of which are broken. There is a female attendant standing with a garland on each side and in front of them are to be seen the mutilated figures of four other attendants. This image is 3 3" in height.

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 68

A block of stone carved to represent a *Suryanarayana* was discovered on the bank of the tank at Masam close to the Circular temple at that place and is apparently later in date than that temple (Pl. XXXVII a). The block is oblong in shape. In the centre of each face is a niche at the bottom with a smaller one on each side. All of these three niches contain a standing figure of Surya which is to be distinguished by the lotuses with stalks held in the hands. On two recessed corners on each side on each face another Surya and a male attendant are standing. Above this there is a horizontal band consisting of small panels containing flying figures. Over this band there is another similar band of flying figures. Above this all there are three more bands containing seated figures all more or less mutilated. On the top is a fully blossomed lotus.

The shrine of Klier Mai contains another panel which so far as is known is unique. This panel is square in shape measuring 2' 4" on each side. It is bounded on the top and the sides by a band containing an undulating creeper. On the topmost band six *lingas* have been placed in the interspaces of the creeper. On the surface of this undulating band fishes, tortoises and crocodiles have been carved to indicate that it represents a river. At the left upper corner is the figure of a female perhaps indicating that this river is Narmada. Below this band on the top there is a row of *lingas* fourteen in number. Below this the panel is divided into five horizontal bands which gradually decrease in height as they recede from the top. In the centre of these five bands there is a sunken panel containing a representation of Siva killing the demon *Andhaka*. Siva is standing with his left knee bent forward the sole of which is resting on the head of a prostrate demon. He has four hands of which the upper left holds a *damru* and the lower right a skull cup (*Lapala*). Two remaining hands hold a trident on the top of which the body of the demon *Andhaka* is transfixed. In the first horizontal band we find Siva with Parvati seated on the back of the bull in the centre. On each side there are six standing figures of Vishnu all with four hands but the implements in the different hands can not be recognised now. In the second band beginning from the left there are four standing figures ending with a seated figure which is seated cross-legged on a cushion. To the right of the central panel there is one seated and three standing figures. The standing figures are apparently those of Vishnu. In the third row on the left are five standing female figures and on the right three seated figures of Ganesa. In the fourth row there are two kneeling devotees on the extreme left. To their right is Agni on a ram and Indra on an elephant. On the right side of the central panel in this band we have three more seated figures of Ganesa. In the fifth or lowest row we have fourteen seated figures on the left and ten snakes on the right. All of the figures in the last row are under the bottom line of the sunken panel in the centre (Pl. XXXV a).

At another place in the same village in an open air shrine is to be found a Buddhist image wrongly called Vajrapani by older archaeologists<sup>1</sup>. The figure cannot be that of the Bodhisattva Vajrapani as he does not hold the thunder

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham *Archæological Survey Reports Vol. IX p. 53*



bolt (*Vajra*) in his hands. The image is that of an unknown Bodhisattva of the *Mahāyāna* school seated in the *Iagrāparyāṅka* posture under a cinquefoil arch, with two hands in the attitude of turning the wheel of law (*Dharmma cakṛa mudrā*) (Pl XXXVI). No *Dhyanī buddha* is to be seen on his head-dress. Two *Dhyanī Buddhas*, *Amoghasiddhi* in the *abhaya mudrā* on the right and *Vaṇoḥara* in the *Dharmma cakṛa mudrā* on the left are seated, one at each end of the cinquefoil arch and a male attendant stands on each side of the main figure with a *śrīvāṣṭh* in their hands. The Bodhisattva is seated on a fully blown lotus flower under which is the wheel of law on a low pedestal, with a deer couchant on each side. There is an inscription on the pedestal in three lines containing the Buddhist creed and a votive record beginning with the words *Sri Vajrapani Mahābaddhā sudhanama*. After four more letters we find the words *mohadānapoti Jitadama*. *Jitadāma* was the name of a merchant (*sādhu*) who was the donor of this image.

To this period belongs the fine image of the boar incarnation of Vishnu now lying in the compound of the temple of Vishnu Varaha at Bilhvi (Pl XXXVII b). This figure resembles the one discovered by Cunningham at Khoh in the Nagode State<sup>1</sup> but it has lost its legs. Besides that the body of this boar is entirely covered with figures of gods and is not plain like the figure at Khoh. On the body we find a row of Ganesas in the second row from the top. The third row contains the figures of the twelve *Ādityas*. In the fourth we have perhaps the eleven *Rudras* and so on. The body of this boar measures 3' 8" in height and 5' 5" in length.

To the same period belongs the peculiar sculpture discovered at Marai in the Mauhā State. On the steps of the tank at Marai there is a beautiful image of *Seshasāyini* (Pl XLV, b). The god is lying on a bed with the hood of the snake, *Ananta*, spread as a canopy over his head. There is a female with an umbrella on the extreme left, i.e. just by the side of the head. Near the feet there is a male and female figure standing with another female seated. The bust of a four-headed male appears on the extreme right. On the top is a row of seated male figures fourteen in number, of which the group on the right appears to represent the nine planets. Under the bed is a horse and an elephant with the conch shell in the centre. Two kneeling human figures appear on each side. The sculpture measures 2' 1" in length and 1' 9" in breadth.

A fine image of *Śiva* and *Durgā* was discovered at the same place (Pl XLVII a). In this image we find *Durga* seated on the lap of *Śiva* in the well known conventional posture. The divine trinity is to be found on the back slab. *Vishnu* being on the top or the centre. On the pedestal we find the bull and the lion with two attendants on each side, among which we find *Gaṇeśa* on the right. Two kneeling devotees are to be found at the bottom of the pedestal. A fine image of *Gaṇeśa* was found on the steps of the tank in front of the fort at Amarpatan, on the great Deccan Road in the Rewa State.

<sup>1</sup> Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India. Western Circle for the year ending 31st March 1909. Pl. XXIX.

which lies between Rewa and Maihar (Pl XLVII, b) Ganēśa is dancing, with eight hands, two of which hold a snake over his head, the remaining hands are broken. Near the left leg of the god a mole is seated on the ground playing on a drum. A *Gandharia* couple appears on each side of the head. The rat, the *vāhana* of the god, is to be found on the pedestal while on each side of it on a recessed corner is the kneeling figure of a devotee.

Among the sculptures found on the bank of the stepped tank at Marai are some peculiar pillars. On the steps of the central projection of the stepped tank at Marai is a square pillar with three superimposed niches on each face. Each of these niches has a round pilaster on each flank, while on the top is a miniature *śikhara*. Beginning from the bottom on one face, there are —(1) a female, seated with her left hand on her head and her right hand on her thigh, (2) a male flying with a tray over head, which is held in both of his hands, (3) a female seated, with four hands, holding a mirror in one of her left hands and a conch shell in one of her right hands. The objects held in the remaining hands look like the branches of trees. On the second face, in the bottom niche a female is seated, with her left hand in the posture of giving protection and the right hand holding a child on her lap. In the second niche a male is seated with a round object in his left hand, while the right is broken. In the third niche a female is standing, with four hands, as in the third niche of the first face. On the third face, at the bottom, a male is seated, who is playing on a drum with two sticks. In the second niche a female is seated, with a child on her right lap. Her head and right leg are broken. On the third or top niche there is a female figure as in the top niches of the two faces, already described. On the fourth face an elephant is to be seen in the bottom niche, a figure of Ganēśa seated with two hands, the left in the posture of giving protection and the right holding a cup of sweets, and then a female figure as in the three faces described above. The pillar is 2' 6½ in height and 1' 2" in breadth.

Another peculiar pillar at this place is also square in section (Pl XXXVIII, a). There are four bas-reliefs on each face. On the first face, is a female with four hands, seated in the centre with two kneeling devotees on each side. In the second band there are four images of Vishnu. Beginning from the left is a figure of which the left hands are broken. The right hands hold the mace and the lotus. In the next figure the left hands hold the lotus and the wheel and the right hands, the conch and the mace. In the third figure the conch and the lotus are held in the left hands. The upper left and the right hands are injured in the last figure of this row. The lower left is in the posture of giving protection and the lower right holds the mace. In the next row there are four similar figures. The first one holds the mace and the lotus in the left hands and the conch and the wheel in the right hands. The second figure holds the wheel and the conch in the left hands and the lotus and the mace in the right hands. The third figure holds the wheel and the lotus in the left hands and the conch and the mace in the right hands. The fourth figure holds the wheel and the mace in the left hands, while the right hands are broken.

In the last row also there are four figures. The first figure holds a wheel and a treasury in the left hands and the mace and the conch in the right hands. The second figure holds a wheel and a battleaxe in the left hands and a mace and the conch in the right hands. The third figure holds a wheel and a lotus in the left hands and a mace and a conch in the right hands. The last figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands, the right hands being broken. On the second face the first band on the top contains four of the incarnations of Vishnu, viz., the Fish (*Matsya*) (2) Dwarf (*Vamana*) (3) *Buddha* and (4) *Kallin*. In the next band we have four more. From the right we have (1) the Tortoise (*Karna*) (2) the Boar (*Varaha*) (3) *Narasimha* and (4) a two handed figure evidently one of the three Ramas viz. *Parasurama*, *Ramachandra* and *Balarama*. In the third band is another two handed figure representing one of the three Ramas and then Vishnu on *Garuda*. He has four hands, the two lower ones being broken. The upper left holds a mace and the upper right the wheel. After him comes another two handed figure, whose left hand is near his breast while the right hand holds a mace. After it is another two-handed figure holding a bow and an arrow representing *Ramachandra*. In the fourth or last row there are two figures with four hands and two figures with two hands. The first of these holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a lotus in the upper right hand. The second holds a lotus in the upper left, while the lower is in the posture of giving protection. The lower right hand holds a wheel while the upper is broken. The third holds a conch in his right hand while the left is in the posture of giving protection. The fourth holds a mace in his right hands while the left is in the posture of giving protection. On the third face there are four seated figures in the first row, the first three of which have two hands, the second only having four hands. In the second row the first figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a lotus and a conch in the right hands. The second figure has two hands only and holds a lotus in the left and a conch in the right. Then comes another figure with two hands seated in an attitude which a Buddhist would have called *Dharmma-chakra-mudra*. After it comes another figure with two hands, of which the left is in the posture of giving protection, the right being broken. In the third row the first figure holds a lotus in one of the left hands and a conch in one of the right hands. The second figure is that of *Brahmā* with four hands, holding a sacrificial ladle (*Sruṣṭi*) in the upper left while the right is in the posture of giving protection. The upper right hand holds a book and the lower a *kaṇḍakūṭa*. Then comes another figure seated in the *Dharmma-chakra-mudra*. The third figure has two hands holding a conch in the left and a mace in the right. In the fourth row is a figure with his left hand in the posture of giving protection and holding a noose (*pasa*) in the right hand. The third figure is that of Vishnu with four hands holding a conch in the upper left, the lower being broken. The right hands hold a lotus and a mace. In the next figure the conch and the wheel are in the left hands and the lotus and the mace in the right hands. The last figure has two hands of which the left is placed against his breast while the right is broken. On the fourth face

there is a female figure, as in the topmost row of the first face. In the second row are to be found four figures of Vishnu. The first figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a lotus and a conch in the right hands. The second figure holds a wheel and a mace in the left hands and a conch and a lotus in the right hands. The third is that of Vishnu on Garuda, while the fourth figure holds a mace and a conch in the left hands, while the right hands hold a lotus and a wheel. In the third row the first figure has two hands, of which the left is in the posture of giving protection while the right holds a *lamandalu*. Then comes another figure with two hands holding a lotus in the left and a *lamandalu* in the right. The third figure has three heads and eight hands. The left hands hold a wheel (*chakra*) a sword (*asi*), an arrow (*sara*) and a conch (*shankha*). In the fourth band also there are four figures of Vishnu. The first figure has lost its left hands. In the right hands it holds a wheel and a mace. The second figure holds a lotus and a mace in the left hands and a wheel and a conch in the right hands. In the third figure the lotus and the wheel are to be found in the left hands and the mace and the conch in the right hands. The fourth figure has a lotus and the conch in the left hands the right hands being broken. The pillar is 3' 2" in height and 1' 1" in breadth<sup>1</sup>.

The broken shaft of another pillar stands by the side of the one just described. Beginning from the bottom on the first face there is a *luttumukha* and then a bracket with two female figures. Over it is a raised band bearing three sunken panels separated by pilasters over which there are two figures on each face. On this face there are two male figures. There are three squatting figures in the three panels on the raised band. On another face we have two males with vases and over it two more males of which the one on the left holds a sword in his left hand. On the third face there are a male and a female standing side by side of which the female holds a fly whisk and the male a mace or a staff. On the same face a male is standing with a thunderbolt and another male to his left with a bull between them. On the fourth face two males are standing with vases to the right and a fat male and another male with a stick, on the left. The height of this fragment is 2' 11". Fragments of two similar pillars have been built in the verandah of the modern temple now standing on the bank of the tank (Pl XXXVIII b). These two pillars have been placed on bases which really are images of Suryanarayana. The fragment at the bottom is broader than that on the top. In the latter there are three niches on each face while there are two such in that on the top. In front, the lowest niche is occupied by a female seated on the ground with a vase on her head and a stick in her left hand. The next niche is occupied by a female standing to the left churning butter with a thick round stick in a round vessel. In the niche on its top a female is seated on the ground with a child on her right lap. On the face to the right the bottom niche is occupied by a female seated, with a vase on her head. The second niche is also occupied by a similar figure,

<sup>1</sup> The interesting sculpture and the following one have been presented by the Malabar State to the Indian Museum Calcutta.

while that on the top contains a bull. At the back the lowest niche is occupied by the figure of a man going to the left with a staff in his hands. The middle niche is occupied by the figure of a child standing on the head of a snake representing the taming of the snake Kahya by Krishna. The top niche contains the figure of a bull. On the left face two men are fighting at the bottom. The man on the left is striking at the figure on the right with a plough denoting that he is Balarama. The man on the right is clasping the man on the left round his neck. This scene most probably represents the fight of Balarama with the braves sent by Kamsa to murder Krishna and Balarama. The central niche contains the figure of a man who holds a mace in his right hand while the left is in the posture of giving protection. The niche at the top contains the figure of a man who is seated with a branch in the crook of his hand. In the fragment on the top of this pillar in front the lowest niche is occupied by a male holding a bundle of ropes or a piece of cloth in his hand while the upper niche is occupied by two males wrestling. On the face to the right two cows are seated in the lower niche and a man is going to the left with a ball in one hand in the upper. At the back the lower niche is occupied by the figure of a female dancing while the upper contains that of a bearded male seated with a small figure perhaps a child on his right lap. On the face on the left the lower niche is occupied by two bearded males kneeling face to face on cushions while the upper niche contains the figure of a child killing an ass or bull and represents Krishna killing one of the various demons sent by Kamsa to destroy him in Gokula. The Suryanarayana at the bottom resembles the specimen discovered at Gurgi. There are three bands of carving on each face. In the lowest band there is a projection in the centre of each face in which is the figure of Surya seated holding a lotus in each hand and with the figure of Aruna between his feet. There is a similar figure of Surya on a recessed corner on each side. On a second recessed corner on each side a fat male is seated on a cushion. The second band consists of a number of sunken panels. The sunken panel on the front projection contains four seated figures. A recessed corner on each side bears a panel with the figure of an attendant rushing away from the central panel. A second recessed corner on each side bears the figure of a goddess. Thus in front on the second recessed corner on the right is to be found Sarasvati with a  *vina* . The third or top band contains a seated male with four hands on the central projection. He holds a trident in the upper left while the lower is in the posture of blessing. The upper right holds a rosary while the lower holds a  *kamandala* . On two recessed corners on each side are two gods with heads of bulls with two hands seated with vases in their right hands while the lower are in the posture of giving protection. On the top is the usual fully blossomed lotus flower.

In the small village of Silchat near Gurgi a peculiar image of Kolu was discovered by Cunningham (Pl XXXIX a). The figure is seated on a low cushion with one leg hanging down while the figure of a lion couchant appears on a recessed corner to her left. The goddess has four hands and she holds a human head in the upper left a dagger in the lower a headless corpse in the

upper right and a skull cup in the lower. She is grinning which has exposed her long molar teeth and her hair is arranged in short curls. The lower part of her face is covered by a sort of mask open in the centre. The halo behind her head consists of a cushion with a border of lotus petals and on the cushion itself appear a grinning skull with two hands. The votive inscription on the pedestal records its dedication by a man named Paumvarja.

The palace (*Garhi*) of the Thakur of Sahagpur who is descended from the same family as the Maharajas of Rewa is a veritable museum. The images and sculptures found in the locality have all been gathered in it and in fact the palace is actually built of materials taken from many ancient ruins in the neighbourhood. The sculptures in the palace consists of two different classes (1) Jaina and (2) Vaishnava. These remains can again be divided into three different varieties (1) images (2) bas-reliefs and (3) sculptures in general. Among the numerous Vaishnava images at this place mention may be made of a fine image of Vishnu seated on a lotus with a long stalk (Pl XL b). The god has four hands out of which two are placed on the lap in the *Dhyanamudra*. The remaining left hand holds a conch and the remaining right hand a wheel. There is a beautiful oval halo behind the head around which are grouped the principal incarnations of Vishnu. On the top of the halo is a male seated on a lotus bracelet with four hands. On each side of this there is a *Gandharva* bearing a garland, attended by two consorts. On each of the upper end of the backslab are the Boar (*Varaha*) and the Man-lion (*Narasimha*) incarnations of Vishnu. Below the figures of *Gandharva* and on the sides of the head of the main figure we find *Ramachandra* and *Vijaya* on the left and *Purushurama* and *Buddha* on the right. There is a standing female attendant on each side of the lotus on which the god is seated and under it there is a group consisting of a female the earth goddess (*prithvi*) seated on a tortoise with hands clasped in adoration representing the second (*Kurma*) incarnation. On each side of the figure a Naga is standing with clasped hands. On the left side of the Naga are two males seated on the back of a *makara*. On a recessed corner on each side are to be found the figures of two female attendants one kneeling and one standing.

Another magnificent Vaishnav image is that of Narayana lying on Sesa which has been built into one of the walls (Pl XLII a). In this image Narayana is lying on a bedstead on which the coils of the body of the Naga Ananta have been spread. The heads of the snake are to be seen behind the head of the god. He has four hands of which one is broken and the other left holds a conch. One right hand holds a mace while the other supports its head. Just under the lower right hand a bearded Rishi is seated close to the sandal (*paduka*) of the god. A female is seated under his left foot while a male and a female are seated under the seat on which Lakshmi is seated. Lakshmi's seat is placed at the feet of the bedstead and the figure is very much mutilated, the head all hands and feet being broken. The figures of a male and three females appear behind on the backslab.

Another magnificent Vaishnav image is a kneeling figure of Garuda with small wings and a huge halo behind his head over which is an umbrella (Pl

XL c) There is a *Gandharva* pin on each side of this umbrella and below it a dwarf dancing on the head of a *nakara*. On the pedestal there is a Naga standing and a Nāga seated both with clasped hands on each side of the main figure.

Jana remains are more numerous in the palace the most remarkable among them being the images of two *Sasandevīs*. The first of these is evidently connected either with Paisavanatha or Suparsvanatha, as over her head is the seated figure of Jina with a serpent's hood over his head (Pl. XLI b). The figure of the Devi has also a serpent canopy. It has one head and twelve hands. She holds in the left hands (1) wheel (*chakra*) (2) thunderbolt (*vajra*) (3) battleaxe (*paśu*) (4) sword (*usī*) (5) arrow (*śara*) the sixth hand is in the posture of blessing (*Vāra mudra*). In the right hands she holds (1) bow (*dhanu*) (2) elephant goad (*akusa*) (3) noose (*pasa*) (4) staff (*danda*) (5) lotus (*padma*) while the sixth is broken. There are a number of attendant figures on each side of the figure and the pedestal of which the one on the right is a Naga. There are three kneeling figures on the left all more or less covered with whitewash. The image of the other *Sasandevī* is comparatively free from whitewash (Pl. XLI a). Above her is a large figure of a seated Jina with an attendant standing on each side holding a fly whisk. On each side of each attendant is the nude figure of a standing Jina. There are two lions under the pedestal of the throne on which the Jina is seated and his *lanchhana* is placed on the cushion on which he is seated. Unfortunately the *lanchhana* is mutilated. Below the *lanchhana* under the throne of the larger image is another seated image of a Jina with a broken head. Below this group is the figure of the *Sisandevī*. She is seated on a cushion under which is a lion couchant. On leg is drawn up on the cushion while the other touches the ground. There is a canopy of mangoes over her head and she has two hands. She holds a bunch of mangoes in the left hand while in the right she holds a child who also holds a mango in his hands. There is a seated and a standing attendant on each side.

The main entrance of the *Gadī* or Fort is fitted with a pair of door jambs taken from some Hindu temple as at the bottom of the jambs we find Ganges on the left and Yamuna on the right on their respective *vahanas* attended by a *Śaṅkara*. The top of the jamb is divided into a number of superimposed panels containing amorous figures. Theintel belonging to this door frame is missing. The shaft of another door jamb and the lower part of a third is placed on the top of these jambs (Pl. XLV a).

This palace at Sohagpur contains large slabs of stone bearing three bas-reliefs of which two at least are unique. The first of these represents the well known story of the youth of Krishna. This slab is divided into two parts each part containing a row of seven panels arranged in a horizontal line each of these panels containing a scene from the life of Krishna (Pl. XLII b). Thus in the top row beginning from the left in the first panel a male and female are standing in an amorous posture. The top knot on the head of the male indicates that he is Krishna and the subject of the scene is therefore Krishna's

amours with one of the milk maids of Gokula. In the second panel Krishna to be distinguished by the top knot on his head is striking at a bull with a stick. This incident represents the slaying of the demon Amshta who assumed the form of a bull in order to destroy Krishna. The third panel contains the figure of Krishna standing in the centre with a tree on each side on the top of each of which is a human head. Krishna has passed an arm around each of these trees. This scene represents the uprooting of the trees called *Jamal-arjuna* in Gokula. Two sons of Kuvera named Nala Kuvera and Mangrava were once disputing with their women in a lake on the Himalaya mountains. At that time the divine Rishi Narada was passing that way. Having seen the sage the ladies clothed themselves but the two brothers being drunk remained naked. Being cursed by the sage they were born as *Jamal-arjuna* trees in Gokula. Once the infant Krishna was tied by his mother to a mortar. He dragged this mortar after him and while passing between these two trees caused them to be uprooted. On the trees being uprooted the sons of Kuvera were freed from the curse of Narada and assumed their normal forms.<sup>1</sup> The fourth panel contains the representation of a river which stretches from the upper right corner of the panel to the lower left. It is a raised band with figures of fishes and tortoises on it the latter indicating that it is the Yamuna and no other river. A man with a child stands to the left of the river facing the front while another man also with a child is to be seen to the right of the river proceeding to the right. This scene represents Vasudeva taking the child Krishna from Mathura to Gokula crossing the river Yamuna at night. The figure on the left represents Vasudeva approaching the river and that on the right the same person as having crossed it. The next panel contains the figure of the she demon Putana. She is kneeling on the ground with a peculiar headdress over her head and a little child is standing on the ground sucking her emaciated breasts. This she demon was deputed by Kamsa to kill Krishna and started murdering young children in the villages of Vraja. One night she travelled by the sky to Gokula and by her magic powers turned herself into a beautiful damsel. After entering the house of Nanda she sought the child Krishna and found him on a bed. She took up the child on her lap and gave him one of her poisoned breasts to suck. Krishna started sucking so fiercely that the she demon could not bear it and started crying. 'Leave me! Leave me!' The fierce sucking ultimately made an end of her and just before her death she assumed her normal form and fell destroying all trees within a radius of twelve miles (*Bhagavata Purana tenth skandha sixth chapter*). The sixth panel contains the figure of Krishna standing with his leg on the yoke of a cart. The only reference to this incident is to be found in the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhagavata Purana* chapter vii. When Krishna was a very small infant he was placed in a swinging cradle which was hung under a cart. While in the cradle the child kicked at the cart which caused it to be upset. The description of the *Bhagavata*

<sup>1</sup> *Bhagavata Purana tenth skandha tenth chapter*



*Purana* shows clearly that at that time Krishna was not able to walk while the basrelief shows Krishna as a grown up infant standing with one foot on the cart. There is thus a slight discrepancy between the description of the *Purana* and this basrelief which cannot be explained now. The last panel in the first row represents a female standing with a pot on her head and a child evidently Krishna standing to her left. This scene may be taken to represent Krishna levying contributions of milk and butter from the milkmaids of Gokula. The first panel in the second or bottom row represents one of the incidents in the earlier life of Krishna. In this panel a male or female is seated in a half reclining posture on a bed or couch. A female is standing behind the bed to the right while the bust of another human figure is to be seen on the left. This scene may be taken to represent Kamsa's visit to his sister Devaki in his prison at Mathura.<sup>1</sup> The next panel shows a man kneeling on the ground holding a little child in its hands which he is dashing to the ground. In front of him is a piece of stone with a figure of the child carved in the outline on it to show that the man had already dashed the child on the stone. In the right upper corner a female figure is flying through the air. The scene represented is the incident described in the third chapter of the tenth *skandha* of *Bhagavata Purana*. When Vasudeva had substituted Yasoda's daughter for his son Kamsa took the child and dashed it to pieces on a stone. Immediately after death the child flew to the air and predicted the death of Kamsa. In the next panel we find a continuation of the river Yamuna from the fourth panel of the first row. Under the river appears the head of a male on the back of which a child is seated. At the left corner appears the bust of a female. This scene represents the taming of the *Naga Kalya* whom Krishna vanquished by dancing on his thousand heads but whom he ultimately spared at the intercession of his wives. The human figure on the back of which Krishna is seated has a snake's hood and the female appearing in the upper left corner is one of his wives interceding for the life of her husband.<sup>2</sup> In the next panel we find the representation of the upholding of the Govardhana hill. At one time the inhabitants of Gokula had displeased Indra by not performing certain sacrifices. In order to punish them Indra directed his clouds to deluge Gokula with rain. To shelter people of Gokula Krishna uprooted a hillcock named Govardhana and held it up as an umbrella under which the people of Gokula took shelter with their flocks. In the basrelief Krishna is standing on the left holding up mount Govardhana on which are represented two quadrupeds on the right. A cow to his left represents the flocks of the people of Gokula. The fifth panel in this row represents a woman churning butter with a round stick the lower end of which is dipped in a round jar and a little child standing holding on to the vase stealing butter from it.<sup>3</sup> The next panel contains the figure of a female seated with a child in her right lap. Two other children are to be seen beneath her right knee. This scene cannot be correctly identified. The last panel on this side

<sup>1</sup> *Bhagavata Purana* 10th skandha chapter 11

<sup>2</sup> *Bhagavata Purana* 10th skandha chapter 27

<sup>3</sup> *Bhagavata Purana*, 10th skandha chapter 2

represents Krishna who is shown here as a corpulent male seated on the ground playing on a flute. The slab measures 3' 10" in length and 8½" in breadth. It will become apparent at once from the description given above that the incidents are not arranged in the proper order or sequence in which they are narrated in the standard works on the life of Krishna, like the Bhagavata Purana. A similar discrepancy has also been observed in the order of narration of the events of Krishna charitra in the bas-reliefs in Caves Nos. II and IV at Badami.<sup>1</sup>

The remaining two bas-reliefs have not been correctly identified yet. They are very fine specimens of mediæval sculpture but unfortunately in some cases, very much mutilated. The smaller relief is divided into two horizontal bands by means of a raised band while each band consists of a row of panels divided from each other by a plain raised band (Pl. XLIII). Beginning from the left in the first panel on the top row a *Naga* is standing in the centre. He has two hands and evidently is a king among the *Nagas*. Behind him stands a bearded figure with a mace and in front of him a man is riding on the shoulders of another man. Most probably there was another human figure on the extreme left. In the second panel there is a small figure on the left, to the right of which is the same man described in the first panel who is riding on the shoulders of another man. In the centre a male with a staff in his right hand is standing under a tree. He is probably a *Naga*. To his right are two more human figures evidently males who are going to the left. The third panel in this row is the biggest. A house or the porch of one stands on the extreme left a male or female is standing under it and in front of her another male is taking up a diminutive figure in its arms while kneeling. To the right of the porch is a headless male going towards it. Behind this figure is to be seen a *Naga* already described in the first and second panels who is standing as a spectator of the scene. A male is standing in front of the *Naga* to whose right are two more male figures the second one holding a sword or stick in his hand. The male in front is holding two hands of a female who is approaching from the right. A basket is slung from the left arm of this female. Behind this group appear the busts of two interested spectators. The fourth or last panel in this row is also large. Here the *Naga* described in the previous panels is standing with a long staff in the centre. To his right appear two more males while to his left two men are fighting and in front of them in the extreme left corner is a female figure.

In the lower row the panel on the extreme left has been damaged. Here there are two rows of figures. In the upper row a female is standing with clasped hands on the left. In front of her a male with a top knot on his hair, is standing facing the female with some object in his hands. Behind him stands another female. Three mutilated human figures are to be seen seated on the ground. The second panel is more interesting. Evidently, it represents a cave on the top of which we find an elephant a snake a monkey and a *Gandharva* flying through the air. Inside the cave is a big serpent with a

<sup>1</sup> See *M. A. S. I.* No. 25 on the bas-relief of Badami.

number of heads and behind it are five human figures out of which the one on the extreme left is a female. The third panel represents a king riding on an elephant and offering some food in a round basket to a corpulent headless male seated on the ground. The elephant is driven by a *mahant* while another attendant seated on the hip of the elephant holds up an umbrella which indicates the royal rank of the person seated on the elephant. To the left of the corpulent male and near the head of the elephant is the mutilated figure of a bull. In the next panel there are three groups two of which are in front. The group on the left represents a male standing on the extreme left accepting some offering held in a pot by a woman standing to his right. The group on the right represents a male with a female to his left the latter dragging the former by his loin cloth. The third group consists of three males standing at the back, of which the first and the third are Nugas. In the fifth panel, a headless male is seated on a round seat and behind him is the figure of a female. In front of him appears the mutilated figures of three males. In the last panel an elephant is lifting up a male by its trunk evidently electing him as a king for a kingdom left kingless in the manner favoured in Indian folklore. Behind the elephant stand three males. The figure on the left holds the tail of the elephant. The central figure is holding a fly-whisk or a stick in his hand while the figure on the extreme right holds a knife in its left hand, which is raised aloft as if striking at the individual who has been elected king. A male is falling down from the back of the elephant. The slab measures 3' 1" in length and 1' 5" in breadth. There is a good deal of similarity between the scenes represented on this bas-relief and those on the third and in fact certain scenes are common to both bas-reliefs.

The third slab is divided into four vertical rows of sunken panels, which are again sub-divided by means of raised bands. In each row there are several panels containing bas-reliefs (Pl. XLIV). The scenes in the first two rows are identical with those on the second bas-relief described above thus the first scene on that on the extreme left of the top row is the same as the second scene of the first row in the second bas-relief. In this bas-relief a man is seated on the shoulders of another man under a tree. Three men are standing to his right and another to his left. The only difference in this case is that the Nuga hood over the head of the man standing to the immediate right of the central figure is absent. To the left of this is a bas-relief which is exactly similar to the third scene in the top row of the second slab. The only difference is that the man in front of the house is dragging the male by his leg and out of the four figures in the front row the second one is a Nuga as indicated by the serpent's hood over his head. The panel to the right of this one in the third bas-relief is exactly similar to the scene on the extreme right in the top row of the second bas-relief. The bas-relief on the third slab is in a comparatively better state of preservation and it shows that the figures on the extreme right are dancing. Similarly in the second row on the third bas-relief the scene on the extreme left is exactly similar to the second scene in the second row of the second bas-relief. As this scene is in a much better state of preservation it should be noticed that

the snake has only one hood that the figures on the extremes are females with pots on their heads and between these five figures appear heads of ten quadrupeds (? cows). To the right of this scene is another, which is exactly similar to the third scene in the bottom row of the second bas-relief. Similarly the third scene in the second row in this bas-relief is exactly similar to the fourth scene in the bottom row of the second bas-relief. The fourth and fifth scenes in the second row of the third bas-relief are exactly similar to the fifth and sixth scenes in the second row of the second bas-relief. In this case the third figure behind the elephant is a Naga. This man who is falling is going down into a well at the bottom of which another elephant is seated. To the left of the second elephant a bearded Rishi is seated on the ground. To his left is a dancing figure and to his left again is a man riding on a bull and going towards the left. In the panels of the third row new scenes are to be found. In the scene on the extreme left a Naga with a staff in his left hand is standing on the extreme left. Behind him appears the head of another man. In the centre is a man who is striking at a horse which looks very much like a wooden horse, and near its legs lies the body of another wooden horse. Behind the wooden horse are to be seen two human figures a male and a female. The female has put one finger on her mouth in indication of surprise. The rest of this row is divided into two parts. The first part contains eight standing figures who are apparently females. Over their heads appear five miniature temples or houses arranged in a row, in each of which there is the bust of a female with the exception of the second which contains two figures. These miniature temples or houses probably represent a town or city. To their left is a deity riding on a bull. In the third scene a male on the extreme left is belabouring another, who is falling at his feet. Behind him appears the bust of a female. In the centre two men are fighting with each other. To their right a man is going to the right dragging another dwarfish figure by his leg. To his right is a Naga dancing and at the extreme right end another male is dancing. In the bottom row a Naga is seated with a child on his lap under a tree in the panel on the extreme left. To his left appears another Naga and a male. Similar figures are to be found on the left which are slightly damaged. The rest of this panel is divided into two horizontal rows. The top row contains three different scenes in panels. In the first panel a man is seated on a raised seat. To his left is another human figure beating him while to the left appears the figure of another human being. Below the platform, on which the raised seat has been placed a human being is lying at full length. In the second scene, a human figure is kneeling on the ground on the extreme left who is being blessed by a male on the right. The standing figure of another man is to be seen behind the kneeling figure. To the right of this group is another group in which also a human figure kneeling on the ground facing the right is receiving benediction from another human figure on the right. A female figure is to be seen standing behind the second kneeling figure. To the right of these figures is another figure, going to the right. In the scene on the extreme left the top and the bottom are combined together. In the centre of this scene a man

is seated on a throne. To his left appear two seated and three standing figures of which the standing figure on the extreme left is a Naga. Two seated and three standing figures also appear on the right. Below this scene three females are seated on the left the front one supporting the left leg of the man seated on the throne with her hands. Two diminutive figures appear under the throne while two figures are kneeling facing the right on the extreme right. In the lower part of this row a man on the extreme left is carrying a man lying on the ground in front of him. Behind the prostrate figure appears the bust of a female to the right of whom is a Naga dragging the fallen figure by the leg. To the right of this is a band representing a river indicated by fishes and crocodiles in it. In the river is a boat in which a man is seated supporting his face in both of his hands. One boatman is standing with a pole in the boat while another standing on the right bank of the river is pushing the boat with another pole. On the left bank of the river are four figures two seated in front and two standing behind them all holding their faces in their hands.

To the same period belongs a fine image of Jina in the compound of Cursetjee's bungalow at Jubbulpore (Pl XLVIII b). The exact findspot of this image is unknown. The Jina is seated on an embroidered cushion against which in relief is to be seen a lotus bud the peculiar shape of which indicates that it is a blue lotus (*Nelumbo*) which is the *lanchlana* of the twenty first year of the Tirthankara Naminatha. Under the image on the pedestal is a sunken panel containing figures of the nine planets. A male attendant stands on each side of the Jina with a fly-whisk in his hands and a female stands before each of these attendants with hands clasped in adoration. There is an umbrella of three tiers over the head of the Jina on each side of which is an elephant. A *Gandharva* couple carrying garlands is to be seen on each side of the head of the main figure.

Other images discovered on the plateau at Nimora near Bhadanpur station in the small state of Maihar also belong to the same period. One of these is an image of Revanta the son of the Sun god (XLVI a). The god is riding on a horse preceded and followed by attendants. There are three attendants in front in two rows. The men in the first or upper row carry a stick and a jar respectively. The figure in the lower row appears to be addressing the main figure. Three other attendants are walking behind the main figure. One of them is carrying a ram or deer on his shoulders. The second one is carrying a jar and the third a tray. Two hunting dogs are to be seen between the legs of the horse. There is a sunken panel on the pedestal containing five kneeling figures out of which the one on the extreme left is indistinct. The next one is playing on a drum. The third figure is carrying a tray in his hands and the remaining two are playing on horns.

The small hamlet of Jara which lies close to Mirai in the Maihar state once contained a large and beautiful carved Jina image. Only a portion of the pedestal of this image has been discovered (Pl XLVI b). On this a seated Jina is to be seen at the bottom with a standing nude Jina on each side. Over this is an elephant with a lion rampant on its back. There is a flying

human figure on the head of the elephant and another such is riding on the lion.

Close to the temple of Somanatha at Bargaoan in the Jubbulpore District a stone lintel of a Saiva temple was discovered which also belongs to the second group of sculptures of the period of rule of the Chedi Kings (Pl XXXIX b). There are three brackets on this lintel, one in the centre and one at each end. There is a mutilated figure of Śiva dancing the *Tandava* on the central bracket. Śiva has ten hands and one head. His vehicle the bull is standing on his left. A male is standing on each of the side brackets, the left one holding a staff, probably a skull mace (*Mṛatanga*) in his right hand. Behind these brackets the main body of the lintel bears the figures of the nine planets, four between the left and the central brackets and five between the latter and the right brackets. In this case Ketu has been placed over the head of Rahu.

In the third group of images and sculptures there is only one specimen the date of which can be definitely fixed. This is the colossal Jām image 12' 2" high and 3' 10" broad discovered by Cunningham at Bahuriband in the northern part of the Jubbulpore District (Pl LII b). This image bears an inscription which contains the name of the king Gayakarna as the reigning sovereign and a date in the Vikrama era which is illegible. The second line of this inscription contains the name of a feudatory chief the *Mahāsāntakṣipati* Gollhana who was born in the Rashtrakuta race. It is certain that the date of this image lies in the eleventh century of the Vikrama era.

Among other specimens the image of Narmadā in the temple of Amarantak has already been described in the previous chapter.<sup>1</sup> Four other specimens come from Amarkantak. Among these two are statues and not images. One of these statues is dated and bears an inscription in four lines. According to this inscription the statue itself was dedicated in the Kalachuri Chēdi year 922=1171 A.D. The inscription further states that the image is one of a man named Narayana who was an archer equal to Arjuna and who was the son of a man named Mithava a Superintendent of scribes and an inhabitant of Ratnapura. The statue is that of a man who is seated cross-legged with his hands clasped in adoration under an umbrella. He holds in addition lotus in his hands (Pl XLIX a). There is a female attendant standing with a fly-whisk on each side and on each side of the head is a garland bearing *Gandhara*. The figure wears the anklets, armlets, bracelets and garlands usually to be found in mediæval images but in addition to these there is a peculiar head-dress on the head of this figure which consists of three different bunches of pearls each consisting of three or more strings hanging over the forehead from the head-dress. The second statue is exactly similar to the first but in this case there is no date in the inscription which simply records the name of the person it represents. He is a Banjara who was a *Rauta* which is expressed by the symbol *Ra* with a circle after it named Sagara (Pl XLIX a). These two images can be seen near the modern temple of Narmada Mata.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 59-60 above.

There are two other peculiar figures at this place both carved in the round which unfortunately however, are not inscribed. The best of these is a headless rider on an elephant the latter being quite unimpaired. The man is seated on the neck of the elephant which is richly caparisoned (Pl LI a). There was apparently another figure on the ornamented back cloth of the elephant, which however is broken. The hands of the rider are clasped in adoration. The image measures 2' 9" in length 1' 4" in breadth and 3' 6" in height. By the side of this rider on the elephant is another mutilated figure riding on the back of a horse (Pl LI b). The execution of the figure of the horse is very bold and this specimen compares very favourably with the colossal figures of horses belonging to the temple of the Sun at Koushal in Orissa. The man is seated on the back with his legs in stirrups proving that stirrups were used in India long before the arrival of the Mughals. The head of the horse is damaged and that of the rider is completely broken. The legs of the horse have also been broken. The figure measures 2' 8" in length 1' in breadth and 2' 4" in height.

Some images discovered in the village of Duddha on the great Deccan Road close to Deotalao also belong to this period. One of these is an image of Siva and Parvati in which Siva is seated on a raised throne with Parvati on his lap (Pl L b). Siva has four hands in two of which he holds a trident and snake. Parvati has two hands in the right of which she holds a mirror (*dhupa*). Siva's vehicle the bull is sitting under his left feet and Parvati's vehicle the lion is standing under her right foot. Ganesa is seated to the left on the corner and Kuttakeya on the right. Behind them stands an attendant. On the top of the backslab are to be found the figure of Brahma on the left and that of Vishnu on the right. An image of Vishnu was also found at the same place. Vishnu is riding on the shoulders of Garuda who is kneeling (Pl L c). He holds a mace in the upper left while the lower is in the posture of blessing a wheel in the upper right and a conch in the lower.

An image of Vishnu discovered at Amarantala in the temple of Kesava also belongs to this third group (Pl ALIX b). The god is standing and has four hands. In the upper left he holds a large lotus bud and in the lower a conch shell. The upper right hand holds a mace while the lower holds the wheel. The god stands on a lotus below which is the figure of Garuda standing. A bearded male apparently the donor, kneels to the left of Garuda while on the other side of Garuda is the figure of his wife. On two recessed corners to the left behind the figure of the donor are the images of the dwarfs and the Buddha incarnations. The recessed corners on the right bear figure of Parasurama and Kallan. Behind the figure of Buddha is that of Rama chandra holding a bow and an arrow in his hands while behind Kallan stands Valirama with a plough in his left hand and a drinking cup in his right hand. A female attendant stands on each side of the main figure, holding flywhisks. The backslab represents an architrave supported by two round pilasters on the capitals of which are to be found the figure of the Boar incarnation on the left and that of the Man lion to the right. The Fish and the Tortoise are to be

found on the top. There is a pierced halo behind the figure over which is a seated figure in meditation with a *Gandharva* pair on each side. This figure has four hands two of which are placed in the *dhyanamudra*. The remaining left hands hold the wheel and the remaining right the mace. The height of the image is 4.6 and its breadth on the base 2.1".

Close to the Lal Pahad rock inscription of the time of Narasimhadeva, a pillar or altar has been scratched on the rock (Pl. LIII b). It resembles to some extent the altar to be seen on the reverses of Sassanian or Indo Sassanian coins<sup>1</sup>. The name of the Rauta Sri Vallabhadeva who is the author of the water channel (*nāla*) excavated in the Kalachuri Chedi year 909 = 1155 A.D. during the reign of Narasimhadeva, recorded in the inscription on the same hill<sup>2</sup> is incised once more close to this altar or pillar.

<sup>1</sup> V. A. Smith *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* Vol. I pp. 220-241 pls. XXIV 1-9 XXV 1-8

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* 9, Vol. XVIII pp. 212-13



## CHAPTER IV.

## The Śaiva Influence

The Bilhari inscription and the newly discovered Gurgi inscription throw a good deal of light upon the history of the Śaiva monks who were introduced into this country during the period of rule of the Haihaya dynasty of Tripuri. These monks mostly belonged to a particular clan called The drunken or mad peacock (*Matta mayūra*). They are known from three inscriptions in the country of Dahala and two outside it. In the country of Dahala their oldest dated record is an inscription at Chandreh dated in the year 724 evidently of the Kalachuri Chedi era=1072-73 A.D. The next inscription is undated and was discovered at Gurgi twelve miles to the south of Rewa State. This inscription also belongs to the same century. The third inscription was discovered at Bilhari<sup>1</sup> in the Jabalpur District and is slightly earlier in date than the first two. This is also undated. The inscriptions outside the Chedi country were discovered at Ranod<sup>2</sup> also called Narod in the Gwalior State which lies between Jhansi and Guna forty five miles due south of Narwar and at Kharepatan in the Ratnagiri District<sup>3</sup> of Bombay. The ancient name of Ranod was Rampadra. The inscription discovered at this place is not dated, but the late Dr. Kielhorn who edited it assigned it to the tenth or eleventh century A.D. It records the restoration of the *Matha* and the temples at Rampadra by a Śaiva ascetic named Vyomasiva. The other inscription is incised on copper plates discovered more than seventy years ago at Kharepatan and records a grant of land to the Brahmacaryas and Acharyas of the Karkatom branch of the Mattamayūra clan by the chief Rattaraja of the Śilahara or the Śilaha family in the Śaka year 930=1008 A.D.

In other inscriptions we find genealogies of kings or of chiefs but in these four inscriptions the number of persons interested being Śaiva ascetics who being celibates for life the genealogy given was spiritual i.e. instead of being from father to son it indicated connection between the spiritual guide his disciple his disciple's disciple and so on. In the Ranod inscription we find the following spiritual genealogy of these ascetics. The first person named is called

*Kadambagīh-adharasin* the inhabitant of Kadambagūha. From him spring the sage *Sankhamatīh-adhyapati* the Superintendent of Sankhamatlika. Next came *Teranbajala* the protector of Terunbi then *Amardaka tūtha natha* the lord of *Amardaka tūtha* and after him *Parandara*. When the king, the illustrious *Avanti* or *Avantivarman* who was desirous of being initiated into the doctrines of the Śaiva faith heard of great holiness of this sage he resolved to bring him to his own country. He accordingly went to Upendra

<sup>1</sup> *Epigraphica Indica* Vol. I p. 251 ff

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 54 ff

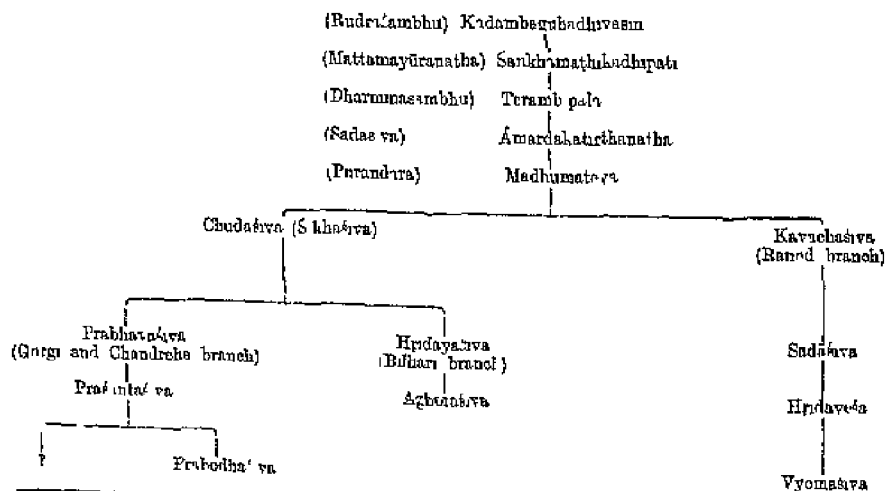
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* Vol. III pp. 292-302

pura, induced the sage to accede to his request, was initiated by him in the Śaiva faith and duly rewarded him. Purandara then founded a Mutha, or residence of ascetics at Mattamayūra the prince's town, and he also established another Mutha at Rūmpadra the place where the inscription is. Next came Kavi-chasiva, his disciple was Sadāsiva, and he was succeeded by Hridayesa. Hridayesa's disciple was Vyōmasiva (Vyōmasambhu, or Vyōmēsa), whose holiness and learning, in which he surpassed all manners of devotees, and learned men (the Śākyas or Buddhists, who are compared to elephants, the jackal like Jānas, and others), are eulogised in verses 22-42.<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, in this inscription, we are to be found the longest spiritual genealogy of the Mattamayūri ascetics beginning from Kōḍambaguhādhivāsu and ending with Vyōmasiva or nine spiritual generations in all. The next inscription in order is the Bilhāri inscription of the rulers of Chēdi where two different groups of Śaiva ascetics have been mentioned. First of all, there are three spiritual generations, in verse 43 where a sage named the Mādhumateya Pavanāsiva is mentioned who was followed by Śabdasiva evidently the former's disciple. Śabdasiva's disciple was Īśvarāsiva. The second group is longer and is described in nine verses (V 48-56). Here we are told that "Worthy of honour is that Kōḍambaguhā, where there has been an uninterrupted line of sants, for them, again, was an object of veneration the chief of sages, Rudrasambhu (V 48). On account of his might to be highly revered in the world, he there had a disciple, Mattamayuranāthi, who, when he had removed every stain of impurity, became possessed, Oh! of the town (?) of the prince Avanti (V 49). After him came the holy Dharmasambhu, who became an ornament of the world, (and) whose feet were worshipped by the lustre of the crest-jewels of princes, having reached the further shore of the ocean of the Śaiva doctrine by his austerities, he obtained the spotless pleasing renown due to him (V 50). His disciple was, rich in austerities, Sadāsiva, whose venerable pair of feet was worshipped by princes with the rays of their diadems (V 51). After him came his disciple, named Mādhumateya full of radiance (and) subsisting on fruit and roots, in whom austerities and majestic splendour dwelt harmoniously together (?) (V 52). He had a most venerable disciple, Chūdāsiva, who, striving after final liberation, swept away the impurity consequent on actions (*performed in previous births*) (V 53). Then (*come*) his disciple, named Hridayāsiva, a mine of all excellences whose fame deserves to be sung of even now—the soles of whose unquely venerable feet were rendered lustrous by the collections of jewels in the diadems of princes (V 54). For whom is that holy man not an object of laudation,—he who an abode of every land of knowledge, wise (*and*) true to his vows still further increased the renown spread over the illustrious Mādhumateya lineage, and who surpassed the earth by his patience, the cloud by his fairness, the ocean by his propriety of conduct (*and*) the god of love by his freedom from passion? (V 55). Or, rather, what need has that eminent sage of praise at all,—he whom the illustrious prince, the moon of the Chēdis,

having shown his devotion by presents sent by well conducted messengers in due turn brought hither full of respect<sup>2</sup> (V 56) The illustrious Lakshmana raja also filled with devotion himself made over to that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanatha (V 57) And the sage, having accepted it, again gave the holy Nandidesvara monastery to his well conducted disciple Aghorasisva" (V 58)<sup>2</sup>

A comparison of this spiritual genealogy with that to be found in the Ranod inscription shows nothing in common. The third inscription, that of the Kalkhuni Chedi year 724 in the Monastery at Chandrehe, clears up all the difficulties in the identifications. According to this inscription in the family of Mattamayura (ascetics) was Purandara whose disciple was Sikhasiva. From the lord of Madhumati was born (spiritually) Prabhavasiva who was worshipped by Yuvarajadeva. His disciple was Prasantasiva whose disciple Prabodhasiva caused the inscription to be incised. Now the Gurgi inscription mentioned above supplies us with the same spiritual genealogy omitting Purandara and giving Chudasiva as the name of the spiritual ancestor of Prabhavasiva instead of Sikhasiva. The name of his disciple Prabhavasiva the disciple's disciple (Prasantasiva), disciple's disciple's disciple (Prabodhasiva) being the same both in the Gurgi and the Chandrehe inscriptions there cannot be any doubt about the fact that Sikhasiva and Chudasiva were one and the same person. This identity being established we may proceed to compare the names given in the Ranod inscription. It should be remembered in this connection that the Chandrehe inscription mentions Purandara as the spiritual ancestor of Chudasiva, while the Bilhari inscription calls this person Madhumateya or the lord of Madhumati. As both the Bilhari inscription and the Chandrehe inscription mention Chudasiva there cannot be but very little doubt about the identity of Purandara with this lord or Madhumati. This identity being established we find that the real names of the spiritual ascendants of Purandara are to be found in the Bilhari inscription and the following genealogy of the ascetics of the Mattamayura clan is obtained —



The Ranod inscription informs us that Purandara was the spiritual preceptor of a chief named Avantivarma who had come from Kadambagudi to Madhumati and founded the monasteries at Madhumati and Ranod. The real greatness of the Mattamayana ascetics may be said to begin from this abbot. His disciple Chudasiva or Sikkhasiva is called the lord of Madhumati in the Chandrehe inscription and therefore he must have stayed in Maliva. The same inscription mentions that Prabhavasiva who had been worshipped by many kings had been specially honoured by Yuvarajadeva. As there were two kings of this name of the Chedi dynasty the import of this statement was but imperfectly understood till the discovery of the Guugi inscription of Prabodhasiva in April 1920. From this inscription we learn that Prabhavasiva was brought to the Chedi country by Yuvarajadeva the son of Mugdhatinga i.e. Yuvarajadeva I and made to accept a monastery (V 8). Unfortunately for us the Guugi inscription does not specify which particular monastery was accepted by Prabhavasiva. It is certain however that this monastery was not the monastery at Bilhari where another spiritual descendant of Chudasiva was brought later on. Probability is in favour of the fact that this monastery stood at the place where the inscription was found i.e. somewhere near or on the mound called Guugay at Guugi most probably the ruin called the fort of Rehuta.

Like the Bilhari inscription the last few lines of this record also are devoted to the enumeration of the different villages belonging to the monks combined with an account of the kings who gave them. Thus in line 43 four or five villages are named of which the names of three are clear i.e. Sarasadollala, Vikadollala, Rijyanchhika. The next line mentions another village named Abhirapali and a second name which may be the name of a village or that of a river viz. Sarasvati. Here also a piece of land is mentioned called a Kavacha kshetra. The 45th line supplies with the names of four villages Samantapataka, Bhadvachhura, Tujuriya and Kulikudiya. The 47th line contains the name of three villages two of which can be properly read and that of a piece of land. These villages are Karodhaka, Brahmapuri and the name of the piece of land is *Nannastava kshetra*. It is mentioned specially that these properties were given to a god named Somanatha. This list of properties belong to the monks or to the gods mentioned in the inscription with the monks as the worshippers of these gods at the time when Prabodhasiva the disciple's disciple of Prabhavasiva was the abbot. The Guugi inscription is therefore a generation later than the Bilhari inscription. Prabodhasiva appears to have been the contemporary of Kokilala II and his son Gangeyadēva. It is known from the Bilhari inscription that Nohala the wife of Yuvaraja I gave the villages of Nipaniya and Ambapataka to an ascetic named Isvarasiva the disciple of Sahadasiva and the disciple's disciple of Pavanasiva who belonged to Madhumati (V 43-44). It is thus clear that three different ascetics from Madhumati were given grants of land by Yuvaraja I. Keyuravarsha i.e. Prabhavasiva a disciple of Chudasiva who was given the monastery of Guugi and Isvarasiva the disciple of Sahadasiva whose connection with Purandara cannot be definitely established as yet. Another disciple of Chudasiva named Hridiyasiva or Hridakesa was brought to this

country evidently by Yuvaraja I. It is stated in the 57th verse that Lalal maharaja the son and successor of Yuvaraja I made over the monastery of the holy Vaidyanatha to this ascetic. Hridayasiva having accepted it gave the monastery of Nauhalesvara to his disciple Aghorasiva (V 58). The inscription was set up by Aghorasiva in the monastery of Nauhalesvara. There is therefore no difficulty in identifying the ruins at Bilhari with this monastery. The monastery of Vaidyanatha stood in the city of Tripuri itself.

The long Bilhari inscription ends with a list of benefactions received by the Saiva ascetics. Verses 70 to 92 refer to the revenue in kind received by them. Thus in verse 70 it is stated that from the salt mines  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the produce and from the oil mills  $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the produce is to be given. The next verse refers to fruits and vegetables such as *Pāṅgaphala*<sup>1</sup> red chillies *Suntha*<sup>2</sup> etc. *Pāṅgaphala* is used with betel leaves while red chillies and *Suntha* are used for cooking. The second part of this verse refers to the revenue in money. One cowrie shell (*kāpardi*) was taken from each shop (*Paṭi*) as well as revenue in kind in the shape of greens *sala* and brinjals. The next verse refers to things given by different communities such as Rasavauikas and Dhimara (*Dhimar*). The second part of this verse mentions the gift of four elephants and two horses by the citizens.

During two generations three different Saiva ascetics were brought from Madhumati in Malava to the Chodi country and provided with lands and monasteries. The first of these monasteries was at Gurgi with its dependency at Chandrehe. The second monastery was at Bilhari with which was Nauhalesvara. The third monastery was at Tripuri and was called the monastery of Vaidyanatha. Nothing is known about the foundation started by Isvarasiva as yet. The abbots of Gurgi were very well off as is known from the Gurgi inscription. Thus it is stated therein that Prasantasiva built a number of temples and monasteries. Verse eleven states that he had built a temple of Siva close to the very high temple built by the illustrious Yuvarajadeva. The next verse states that in the chambers surrounding the temple (evidently the temple of Yuvaraja I) he had set up a large number of images of (1) Siva with Uma (2) Uma (3) Shadanana (4) Ganapati and (5) Sarasvati. The images of Siva with Uma and Uma are still lying on the Gurgai mound at Gurgi. From the 13th verse we learn that the same abbot built a retreat for himself on the banks of the Sona. This information supplied by the Gurgi inscription is further supplemented by the Chandrehe inscription where in verse seven it is stated that Prasantasiva built a retreat for himself at the confluence of the river Sona. This retreat which was situated at the foot of Bhumarasala is still called by the name of Bhumarsen and is situated at a distance of two or three miles from Chandrehe itself.<sup>3</sup> The Chandrehe inscription states that Prasantasiva had built the temple of Siva at Chandrehe which was the first temple of the circular type discovered (V 16). The Gurgi inscription informs us that this princely abbot with the intention of living in a holy place built another retreat for himself on

<sup>1</sup> Areca nut common as pari or betelnut.

<sup>2</sup> Dried ginger.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham *Archaeological Survey Reports* Vol. XIII pp. 14 L.

the Ganges, most probably at Benares. These retreats are lordly buildings which any prince may have been proud of. For example the monastery built by Prabodhasiva at Chandreh is a two storied building very well decorated with spacious rooms for dormitories and smaller chambers for use as shrines.

It is not possible even now to ascertain how long these abbots continued to enjoy the gifts bestowed on them by the early kings of the Harhaya dynasty but it appears from the later grants of the Harhaya kings that some of them at least continued in favour. Thus in the grant of Govindachandra of V. S. 1177=1120 A.D. it is mentioned that the village of Karanda which was given by the king Yasahkaruna to the Śaiva teacher the royal spiritual preceptor Rudrasiva was given by Govindachandra to the Thākura Vasanthasarinman.<sup>1</sup> The name Rudhasiva reminds one of the other names such as Aghorasiva and Prabodhasiva. Similarly the Kumbhu plates of Vijayasimha of the Kalachuri Chēdi year 932 mentions a Śaiva teacher who was also the royal spiritual preceptor named Vidyadeva.<sup>2</sup> According to the Bheraghat inscription of Alhana devi a temple of Śiva called Vaidyanatha was built by her. She gave two villages called Namaundi and Makarapataka to this god. The management of the grant and the temple was left to the Pasupata ascetic Rudrasiva of the Lata lineage.<sup>3</sup> This person was apparently the same as that who was the recipient of the village of Karanda from Yasahkaruna and which was taken away from him by Govindachandra in 1120 A.D. As Rudhasiva was living in the Kalachuri Chēdi year 907=1155 A.D. there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the Antarala *pattala* had been conquered from Yasahkaruna shortly before 1120 A.D.

Another line of Śaiva teachers who were brought to the Chēdi country is mentioned in a Kakatiya inscription dated 1261 A.D. Rudradevi gave certain lands situated to the south of the river Krishna to a Śaiva teacher named Visvesvara Sambhu who had initiated the Kakatiya king Ganapati and the kings of the Chēdi Malava and the Chola countries. According to it Visvesvara Sambhu was an inhabitant of the village of Purvagrama in the province of Radha of the Gauda country.<sup>4</sup> This interesting inscription has not been published as yet.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XXXI 1862 p. 124

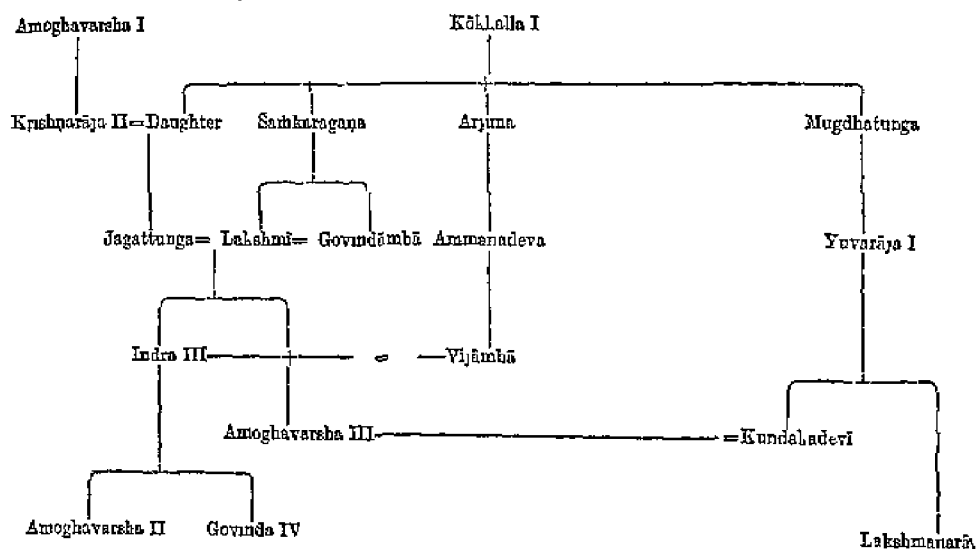
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 119

<sup>3</sup> It is quite possible that Mattamayura was situated in the Lata country. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. III pp. 296-301

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy Southern Circle for the year 1916-17* pp. 123-24

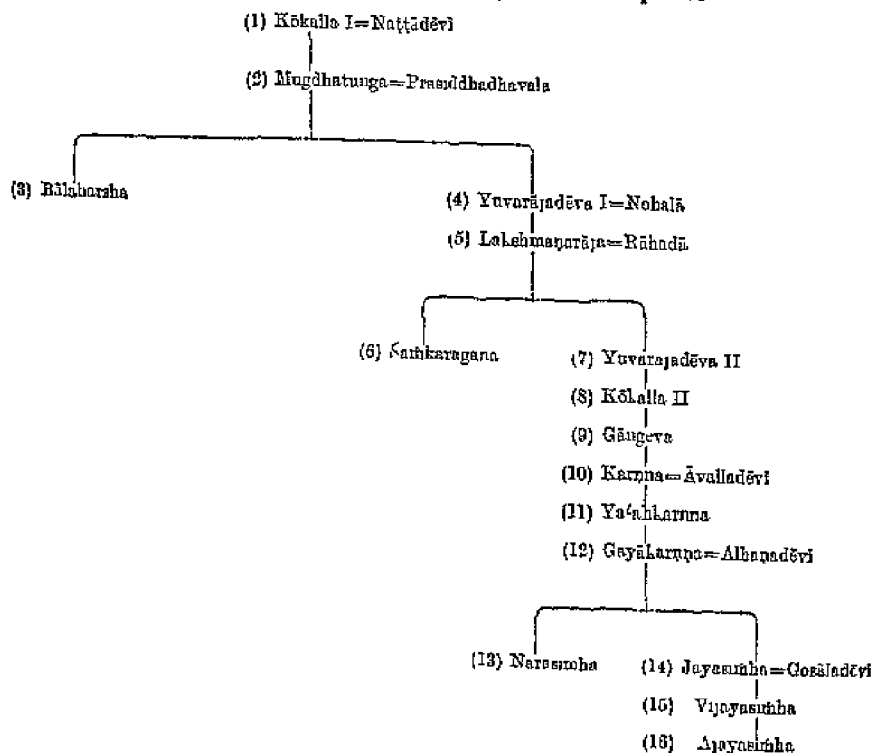
## APPENDIX A.

## Relationship between the Haihayas and the Rashtrakutas.



## APPENDIX B.

## Genealogical Table of the Haihayas of Tripuri.



## APPENDIX C

### New Inscriptions.

The historical information gleaned from six newly discovered and unpublished inscriptions has been used in drafting the chronology of the Hahayas of Tripuri in this work. The earliest of these is the Chandrehe inscription of the abbot Prabōdhasīva of the Kalschum Chedi year 724=973 A.D. This inscription is incised on two slabs of stone which are built into the masonry of the Śaiva monastery at Chandrehe, a small village on the river Sone, twenty nine miles south of Rewa town, the antiquities of which have been described in Chapter II. The second inscription was originally discovered at Gurgi, a place twelve miles due east of Rewa town but which has since been removed from the place of its discovery and built in front of the wall, below the Durbar Hall of the Maharajas of Rewa. This inscription is another record of the Śaiva abbot Prabōdhasīva, but is undated. The third inscription was found in the store of the office of Dewan Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad, M.A., LL.B., Home Member of the Council of Regency, Rewa State, in April 1920. The fourth inscription was discovered in one of the small guardrooms built along the walled enclosure which surrounds the Palace at Rewa. Its findspot is unknown. The fifth inscription was discovered through the help of Dr. Shevdc, Sub-assistant surgeon in charge of Sutta Agency hospital in 1920 and 1921. It was discovered in a small bungalow belonging to the Maharaja State, in the village of Jura, situated within the same State, which lies at a distance of two to three miles from the great Deccan Road, or as it is known in Northern India, the Calcutta Bombay Road. This inscription is written in South Indian characters and the language is Kanarese. It was deciphered by Mr. K. Subrahmanya Iyer, Assistant Superintendent, attached to the office of Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who has very kindly allowed me to utilise the historical information to be gleaned from it. As this inscription is to be published very shortly in the *Epigraphia Indica*, it is not necessary to publish the text and translation at this place. The sixth inscription was found on the lintel of a doorway of the temple of Vaidyanātha at Bheraghat in the Jubbulpore District. It was noticed before by Rai Bahadur Hiralal but has not been properly published as yet. The text of the first four inscriptions is being republished here with the sanction of Sir John Marshall, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., Litt.D., F.S.A., because though these inscriptions have been sent to the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* for publication in that journal, they cannot be printed within four or five years to come.

### I The Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhasīva.

#### *Text*

#### A

1 Ōm namah Śivaya || Pham svasa syāmē svanaḍ amara nady ambhasi cha  
 yaḡ jata jūt āmbhodē nayana sikhī vidyud=vilasatī | Tatllā chūdā chandra dyuti



2 mihara dhar=eva kakubham kapalanam mala tula[y]ati sa Sarvvā  
vijayate ||<sup>1</sup> [1'] Hanso syoni hasita-mahasam sambhatis=Sankatasya sphari  
bhute vadnam=abhito

3 naga charanu avitasya | kincit kantha chehham kalushita megha-  
nryan mrigankacheliham sva chehham sapadi dadhati sampadam vo  
dadatu ||<sup>2</sup> [2'] Nari samvarana pravina charana vya-

4 parata glumita lshoni lunda namat phan isvara phanam vidrana dig vara  
nam [ 4'] Dondlunda bhrammad=akunda chaht brahmandalchandam mude bhuy d=  
vo nividā

5 lvanad<sup>3</sup> damaulam Chandipates=ta devam || [3] Sūman Motta  
majara-santatir=ya n Gang=eva loka ttryani payad=yattia Purandarah  
krita tapa jagne gurur=bhubhujam | Sishyas=ta

6 sya Sikkasivah sikhi samo vibhrat=tapas tejasa dipatvam vimpatis-  
andhasamaso mrvana margge sthitah ||<sup>4</sup> [4'] Tato Madhumati pateh krita  
maha tapa

7 s safchayah Piabbayasiva ity=sabhut=sakala suva chudamam | Aneka  
nupa vanditah sa Viraajadevena yas=tapodhana pateh krita=scharana  
puta go lakshikah || [5']

8 Prasantasiva chandanas=tad anu tasya sishyo=bhavat=tamah prama  
than odyana pratita svarupah suchih | Babhara gumshu sriyam kumuda  
kalpa sarveshu yah samujjvala

9 yasah prakha dhavah akhil asa mukhah ||<sup>5</sup> [6'] Sa Sona-nada sangame  
Bhramara sala mula=tulom pnyala vana sank le phala minala kand asanah |  
Chaka

10 ra viditam janam m m sakbah prasant : srnam sva pada pada  
pamitubhuh pavita bhutalo yah krita ||<sup>6</sup> [7] Dev odyana gat endra samsadi muda  
gandharva vidyadherai

11 anandaya cha Dhurjateh slatlayata vady adarom Nandina | Lila  
lohte maubha kara galad valguna yasy=vel hal an bhav it sarathina tatha

12 prati tapah asvad<sup>10</sup>=jaso giyate ||<sup>11</sup> [8'] Prabodhasiva ity=sabhut=sakala  
sishya vargg agran<sup>12</sup> sa tasra Madana dvishah Parasurama ama yatha | Yasah  
khachata

13 din mukho<sup>13</sup> gum janiva vittam dadan=nu krita vasundharo vyita  
sattu vargg=cha yah ||<sup>14</sup> [9'] Udagra sikhi taippana-pragunt nika panth kshanam  
l imara

14 iva sarivada parihnt anganā sangamah | Samunatatamahubhuti prakatit  
atna saltu kramo Manohlava npu privo vibha deva l ryas=cha yah ||<sup>15</sup> [10']

<sup>1</sup> S. Lhar 1

<sup>2</sup> Read s an

<sup>3</sup> Mand krunia

<sup>4</sup> Read isavad

<sup>5</sup> Sarad lav kr d ta

<sup>6</sup> Saradlav kr d ta

Pr 1

<sup>7</sup> Pr 1 m

<sup>8</sup> Pr 1 m

<sup>9</sup> Read sakad

<sup>10</sup> Saradlavakrid a

Read agran

<sup>11</sup> Read di mulati

<sup>12</sup> Pr 1 m

## B

15 Vicharya mikhil agaman=vidi samadhi vuddi esvarah priyala phala mulak  
amala a sala salula bhul | Nade-nlita<sup>1</sup> dhara tale guru janamu

16 Iam tapas=charam jagati<sup>2</sup> vismayam vyadhita bala bhava=pi yah<sup>3</sup>  
[11\*] Mah bhram muddhigia pragnatara padhi samudayi dadhan=mitratvam  
yas=tamira bhudu

17 ram karyam=akarot | tath sandhy arambhi mikh la jana vandyah kim=  
aparam p itepena vyapnot=tn bhuvanam=api prapta mahima ||<sup>4</sup> [12\*] Gurugra-  
gram otkhana

18 na dalana dhvansa vidhina mahidhre thanam<sup>5</sup> vo vyadhita jaladhau  
Raghava iva | Smt stotahsv=evam vipina gahaneshv=adbhuta karam jagaty=  
ascharyam hi prathava-

19 ti mahat Iamuna mahatara ||<sup>6</sup> [13\*] Jada tara-maruch Chhonasy=sambhah  
kaner=ya n=asamo mrigapati maladi vanar<sup>7</sup> rattrau pratadhvamit amvarah |  
Sikhari silha

20 ra pranta prenkhad dy repla payodharo janayati jane vidyuch  
chhanila maharushadhi rochsha ||<sup>8</sup> [14\*] Chumbanti vanara gana mriga satru-  
potan=sinhistanam pivati ch=

21 ttra sisir=mrigasya | Varan nijam patiharanta virodhino=nye sarvasya  
samyata masno hi tapovaneshu ||<sup>9</sup> [15\*] Guru krta-sur agarad=arad=amum ma-

22 tham=unnatam svalam=va yasah subhr alhr abham visalam achilarat |  
[16\*] Anugram=atho Sindhu prakhyam tadagam achikhanat=prachura sahlan  
kupam ch=attra

23 Prihodl as vah sam ||<sup>10</sup> [16\*] Sri mat Prasanta siva karitam=attra l upam  
kalena siruna patit-akhila-daru puram | bhaktya guru=guru sila iachana

24 vichittram so=chikarat=tadanu duram=achikhanasch=cha ||<sup>11</sup> [18\*] Babhuva  
bhuvi Dikshito vihita karttano Mebhukah<sup>12</sup> sa sajjana gan agrani=ajanayat=sufam

25 Jenkam | Tatas=Khomerik odare samabhavat=l avir=Dvamsatah  
prasastim=akeroth=asau vikatavanna bandham=man<sup>13</sup> [19\*] Pasupati jata  
juta bhrauta hima

26 dm sila tala skhalita sal lu chafichad vichah pavitritta-bhuta | Vrajati  
santam natham y: vad=Bhagrattha vartmanā sura sand=nyam tavat=kirtiti  
sthir=astu bhuv sthita ||<sup>14</sup> [20] La

27 Ishmidhara sutah khyato Vasudev anujah sudhah | Imamu Damodaro-  
kl hit=prasastim pravar alsharam ||<sup>15</sup> [21\*] Sutradhara-Sural agray=tloyna  
Adakanthena || Samvat 724 Phalguna Sudi 6 ||

<sup>1</sup> Read Nade n l a.

<sup>2</sup> Read chera= jagati.

<sup>3</sup> Pr th n

<sup>4</sup> S Harin

<sup>5</sup> Read sharan

<sup>6</sup> Silhar

Read mahas anar

<sup>7</sup> Harin

<sup>8</sup> Vasantat lak

<sup>9</sup> Ha n

Vasanta lala

<sup>10</sup> Read Med thal

<sup>11</sup> Pr th n

<sup>12</sup> Harin

<sup>13</sup> Anusil lubi

## Translation

## A

That Śiva (*Sarva*) is victorious, whose piles of matted hair, being like a cloud, on account of its being black (as a cloud is black) with the fumes of snakes, resounding with the waters of the divine river Ganges (as a cloud resounds with thunder) and flashing with the fire of (his third) eye (as a cloud flashes with lightning), (and) whose garland of human skulls brightens the different quarters, as the rays of the combined effulgence of the Moon in his crest (1)

Let the beauty, of the great laugh of Śankara, near his expanded mouth, who is clothed in the skin of an elephant, which is as white as a row of geese, which is slightly darkened by the reflection of his neck (which is dark or blue on account of the poison drunk by Śiva at the time of the churning of the Ocean), (and therefore) which is like the Moon emerging from a cloud, (and) which gives clear light in the way, give you riches (2)

Let the Tāṇḍava dance of the lord of Chandi cause you pleasure, which caused the hood of the lord of the snakes to be lowered on account of the drumming on the earth, (which was) caused to revolve on account of the stepping of the feet skilled in protecting the female (body, which Śiva held on his shoulders), (again) which (dance) caused the elephants of the cardinal points to become afraid on account of the movement of his rodlike arms, which (dance, again) caused violent movement of the universe (and) which caused deep scard on the *damara* (3)

Let these descendants of the illustrious Mattamayūra (clan) purify the three worlds, like the Ganges, in which (clan) was born Purandara, who had performed austerities (*tapas*) and who was the spiritual preceptor of kings. His disciple (was) Śikhūśiva (who was) like the fire, (and) who by the fire of his austerities, having destroyed the darkness of ignorance and standing in the path of *narvāna*, held the qualities of a lamp (to show the proper way) (4)

After that lord of Madhumata came Prahāvasiva (who) had accumulated great merit (*tapas*), who was worshipped by many kings, who was the crest-jewel of all Śaivas (and who) was made to accept land sanctified by his feet (i.e. to settle in this part of the country) by Yuvarājādēva (5)

After him came Praśantasiva, the Moon, the pure, his disciple, whose real self became manifest in his attempt to dispel the darkness of ignorance, and who by whitening all the quarters with the rays of his bright fame acted on the meritorious Śaivas as the moon acts on the *Kumuda* flowers by giving them beauty (or riches) (6)

He, whose food was fruits the stalk of the lotus and bulbs, who was accompanied by the Munis, who had sanctified the earth by his footsteps, and who was pious, built a pleasant hermitage well known to the people at the confluence of the Sōna at the foot of the Bhramara mountain covered with dense forest of *pryala* trees<sup>1</sup> (7)

<sup>1</sup> *B. ichanana lat folia*

Whose fame was incessantly sung in a high tone by Gandharvas and Vidyadhivas with delight, in the garden of gods in the assembly of Indra, and by Nandin, who relaxing his attention to his playing instrument, (sang his praise) for the pleasure of Śiva, (and by) the charioteer of the Sun who lolling his head (from one side to the other in ecstasy) let the reins of the horses slide, from his hands, in every (month of) Māgha (8)

He Prabhāsiva was the foremost among all his (Prasāntasiva's) disciples, just as Parasūma was of the enemy of Madan (i.e. Śiva) who had conquered all enemies, who had made the earth his debtor (and) who had adorned the cardinal points by his fame, by bestowing riches on the qualified (9)

Who for some time, was like Kumāra (*Kartilēya*) whose one hand was versed in pouring libations on high tongues of fire (as Kumāra's one hand was versed in pacifying his fierce peacock) who had always abjured the company of women, who had shown the effect of his own power on powerful kings (high mountains), who was the favourite of (Śiva), the enemy of the mind born (Kāma) (as Kumāra also was, being his son) and who had performed the duties of the gods (or imposed upon him by the gods)<sup>1</sup> (10)

## B

Who was chief among those who had knowledge of meditation (*śamadhī*) according to rules (*vidhī*) who lived on greens (*śāla*), roots of water plants (*śālīla*) and fruits such as *amalaka* *priyab* as well as roots (*mūla*) who was also well known for his simplicity who was the imitator of his spiritual preceptor in this earth marked by rivers having consulted all the scriptures (and) who had caused (people) in the world to wonder by performing austerities (11)

Who, having obtained power set his auspicious foot on the head of kings. (and) acting as the Sun, caused their ignorance to be dispelled (just as the Sun, having risen sends his strong rays on the peaks of mountains and, acting as the friend of all causes darkness to be dissipated) who was the worshipped of all in peace-making (just as the Sun is worshipped by all in the evening or at the time of the three *Sandhyās*) who had obtained greatness by power, which had spread throughout the three worlds (just as the Sun obtained greatness by his rays which were spread over the three worlds) What else? (12)

Who had caused an establishment to be built on the hill as Rāghava did in the sea by the expedient of excavating, breaking and crushing masses of heavy stones in the midst of streams and in dense forests (and thus) performed an unprecedented, wonderful act in this world Great are the deeds of the great (13)

At night, this retreat (*śrama*) causes people to suspect lightning, on account of the bees flying at the ends of peaks of mountains (causing people to take them to be clouds), on account of the phosphorescence of plants (growing near it, resembling lightning) on account of roars of lions causing the skies to echo (resembling thunder) (and) on account of the cooler air (cooled) by the sprays of the waters of the Sona (resembling rain) (14)

<sup>1</sup> Such as the slaughter of the demon Tataka

In this place monkeys kiss lion cubs the young deer suck at the breasts of honeysuckles so other (mortal or natural) enemies take leave of their enmity in this forest of austerities (and) the minds of all become calm (15)

The calm Prabodhasiva caused a high and big monastery (*arāṭhā*) to be built (which was) as beautiful as his own fame which was like the colour of the white clouds close to the temple (abode of gods) built by his spiritual preceptor so also he caused a well and a tank with ample water called the Śmādhā to be excavated close to the mountain (16)

(He) on account of his devotion for his spiritual ancestor caused to be deeply excavated (and rebuilt) with beautiful masonry of heavy stones a well, caused to be excavated by Prasantasiva at this place (which) had become dilapidated on account of (the passage of) time and full of wood (trees) (17)

There was a Dikṣita named Meduka whose fame was known in the earth He begot a son named Jenka from him in the womb of Khamarika was born the poet Dṛṣṭasata He composed this *prasaśi* of difficult composition (18)

Let this fame (of this work) last as long as this divine stream lasts on this earth and goes to the sea along the way shown by Bhagnatha (which divine stream is) wandering in the mass of matted hair of Śiva (and whose) waters drop down from the rocks of Himadri whose waves caused sound (which) has caused the earth to be purified (19)

This *prasaśi* was written in excellent letters by Damodara the learned who was the younger brother of Vasudeva (and) the son of Lakṣmīdhara (20)

Inscribed by Nilakantla according to the orders of the mason Suraka The year 724 the 6th day of the bright half of Phalguna

## II. The Gurgi Inscription of Prabōdhasiva

### Text

Om Namo - - - - vāṣa || Lanka va ◡ vahu vyatikara chatula-sphataḥ adṛ mndra kotī śrēmī saṁghatta vidyud=gagana chara nara cchadvala

2 Śm ◡ - - | - - - ◡ - la jagad=ul nita tad ākanda nīl rada ghoṛa svachchhandah so=drvāsi mudam=upachmutach=chandra chudamamr=rvah || (1)<sup>1</sup>  
Nandm=eyam pravīṣṭa ya gurata

3 ya - - - - - dādhati manya nūtl y=atan=a=asmī sandra - - - - -  
- - - - - - - - - - - yasa | Mugdha tvad rūpa dharm tridasa rīpur=asau  
dasyatam patite=ge len=astūn=eti de

4 sakri - - - ei na jītaḥ patī maum Sivo vah || (2)<sup>2</sup> sa yachayavary  
ya - - - - - bha snigdha dhuma pravandhu pravarḍh ākala megh odaya  
mada mudit-onmadi nṛṇāṁ mayura }

5 -sty=suchchah [sau]dhr jala jvalad ananu manu dyuti pañch āṅga malash  
Svar lokam=va hīṣanti jagati Madhumati dharm Sāddhāntāṁ nam || (3)<sup>3</sup> Purve  
yatr=avātarya vrata nīyata mano - ha

6 sas=tapas endrah sishyanam=asasamsuh Siva matam=atanuvyasta  
mahsesha dosham | Yeshham=api kirtur=ddhavalayati sudhe dhanta kantil  
prasiadha visvam sampanna vidvaj ja

7 na kunnda van anandinchandrak=eva || (4)<sup>1</sup> Sarvanam=anvaye=sminn-  
ati mahati munu=mananmyo munnam=enah sushk=endhananin=dava dahana  
iva dyotamanam=mmahoblah |

8 Si manus=Ci ugasro= bhud= bhava charana-yuga dhyana vodh arddhi labha  
predbhut atyanta subhva tribhuvana bhavan=abhyantara bhanta kurti ||(5)<sup>2</sup> Tasy  
=akula kshatipati prai at ottam anga chuda

9 mmi dyuti chay arechita pada pithah sishyo babhava bhuvana triva  
kirtitanyah Srimat Prabhavasiva nama munu=mananah || (6)<sup>3</sup> Anya yam sabaja  
vasanaya nayamah Sri Mugdha

10 tunga tanavo Yuvarajadevah | Satv upakara bhavad uttama kurti  
hetor=agrahavan=mathar=ananta dhana pratishtham || (7)<sup>4</sup> Tasy=umajena tapasa  
cha vivarddham na vidya valena cha sama

11 sta jagat pratish | Sishyah prakama-kamaniya gun al a dhan a Srimat  
Prasantasiva nama<sup>5</sup> munu=vvabhava || (8)<sup>6</sup> Akusht=achua=sanchitena tapasa  
yasy=anga song otsuka Lakshmurbhoga

12 parahmulhasya satatam ubhrcyas akambhaya | Ajnam prapya | par  
pakara kritaye tad vallabhanam satam sthaneshu sthiratar=avapa vunt=ev  
=tyanta satya vrata || (9) Tyagam stambham=

13 v=avilamvy vilasaj paa amvi scla knyam=asadya prasarit-tapo vala  
lnta pratyanta raksha l rouch | Ittham yasya yaso(so)mayah sa vavndhe  
kalena kalpadrumo yena vyaptam=dam=pasa

14 hya sal alam brahmada bland odaraan || (10)<sup>8</sup> Iena Sri Yuvaraja kanta  
lasat-Kailasa sring upama prasat ottalatah Sumeru sukharasparddhi pras d  
dham=blivi sadma sthapitam=sva

15 rasya sal ala trilokya vismapakam yat=svarggam vrajates=tadiya  
yasa(a)sah sojana murggayete || (11)<sup>9</sup> Yah pratyatishlapad=Uman=Umay cha  
musram=Isam Shadananam=atha pratit ora kurti

16 p=asale samakate Jera gmbeshv vdran=dvare tatha Gnapatin=cha  
Saravatan=cha || (12)<sup>10</sup> Dah ottamna suvarna dana samita dravy arthi sarthi  
spuihah siddha-sthanam=achikarat=tad=aparam yah So

17 na tar upari | Yasmin=yogayushah pravisya nyama dhvast antaray  
adhayah santah siddha samadhyat=dhumatayo gachchhanti mulat padam ||  
(13)<sup>12</sup> Tutu sthana nisl evan odyata dhyat

18 m=atyanta vierantaye yas=tat=kantavan munih suia sarit-tare tapah  
sthanakam yat=samsevy Mahesvar arechhana lata Valanasi vasino manyante  
bhava-sagaram gurum=api kshinam

<sup>1</sup> S andhara

<sup>2</sup> Sagdharu

<sup>3</sup> Sasntat lala

<sup>4</sup> I asan al lala

Read nura.

<sup>5</sup> I asantatula

<sup>6</sup> Yasantat lala

<sup>7</sup> Saradulata dila

<sup>8</sup> Saradulata krida

<sup>9</sup> I asan al lala

<sup>10</sup> Read dhva atayo

<sup>12</sup> Sa dila lala

19 〇 - 〇 padam || (14)<sup>1</sup> Asīnasya jīta āsanasya vijīnē hrit-padma-madhya—  
sthita sthānu dhyāna nūma nūchala manah samvēdit-āntar mmudah | Jagmur=yasya  
dinani dāna-nūrata

20 - - 〇 - - Śiva tatva jñāna vichakshanaish=cha gumbhūh sārddham pari  
ksha kshamaish (15)<sup>2</sup> Tivr āmsōr=amsu samghā iva nūtatasy ōllūsinah svah  
prabhāva[r]=yasy=āntēvasino=mdhas=tamasī m

21 - - - - - 〇 〇 - - 〇 - - bōdhayaty -| - - =loka dān-ōpakṛti panna-mat-  
kṛttiyah sambhūta ājñā śubhrē bhūbhūch chhūrōbhūh pravara mun-janar=  
a [i]jhyamānūs=charanti || (16)<sup>3</sup> Tasy=ābhava-

22 - - - - - vēsvara - - - - āh samasta kavi pūmgava gita-  
kṛttah sr-Isāna Śanka(?)ra khal āvani pala manūh mālā man dyuta pisamgita pāda  
padmah || (17)<sup>4</sup> Nirjitya

23 ~ - - - - Ia ~ - - - - - saiv[v] ārtimūm yēna Śrī=  
ggamit ōpabhōga padavi daunggatyā dukkha-chchūhā sad vidyā bhava vandhana-  
vyatikara pradhvansa karmma-kshama vvarpar=ēti

24 samagra-sam<sup>5</sup> - - - - - yō mādyat-kali-kalai danti dalana-  
vyāpara pañchānāh Śrīman Mattamayūa vansa talakō nūsesha vidyāmdlūh  
Vidvat=pa

25 - - - - - asēsha gun ākarasya bhuvanē ma  
- - - ma - - - - Śrīmat Prabodhasiva nūma nū anujasya sthānam sama[i]pya vūp<sup>6</sup>

26 - - - - - sya ya - - - pa - - -  
- - - yēna tyaga tapah samādhi nūdhinā sva svāmī nūmmāpita

27 - - - - - icluta-siddhi vādha - - - n=ōllamghayanty=sūvara kṛi - - -

28 - - - - - gat arthmī dha - - - - stlapya pūrvv ēpīsa-prājya sva-

29 - - - - - kṛty=āvalla - - - - sat karmma nūmmāpita |

30 - - - - - ta da na - - - - 1 unnat ātmā tasy=āspado ? gra

31 - - - - - y - - - - ndrē ? rrvudē yasy=occhais=cha

32 - - - - - ma - - - - āl shamah || Sāmanta pāta

33 - - - - - rupasa - - - -  
- - - - - m nūma || En āuk āvaya

<sup>1</sup> Śarāḍālavikṛ āta

<sup>2</sup> S rādī larī I rīqita

<sup>3</sup> Śragdī ara

<sup>4</sup> Vasantatīlā a

<sup>5</sup> Śarāḍālavikṛīqita

<sup>6</sup> Śarāḍālavikṛ āta

|                                 |                                              |                                            |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 34                              | mandi                                        | -                                          |
| -                               |                                              | -                                          |
|                                 | grihit u talat-khyatam kha                   |                                            |
| 35                              |                                              | -                                          |
| -                               |                                              | -                                          |
|                                 | mrj tyā Gurjarapat                           |                                            |
| 36                              | -                                            | - - -                                      |
| -                               |                                              |                                            |
|                                 | panjai a raksho                              |                                            |
| 37                              |                                              | -                                          |
|                                 |                                              | -                                          |
|                                 | s-ananda mauli manr                          |                                            |
| 38                              | tasmad-am                                    |                                            |
|                                 |                                              |                                            |
|                                 | paral rāmo bi ut l cl a ( ) tr pi va         |                                            |
| 39                              | schuta rupam=ev endra(?)                     | Vira vratam                                |
|                                 | ta ja                                        |                                            |
|                                 | tavi                                         | -                                          |
|                                 |                                              | V krama-                                   |
|                                 | nidhr-vipar ta mallah    Āsm-nri             |                                            |
| 40                              | pah kavi kadamva                             | manasa                                     |
|                                 |                                              | pa ikah Tasmad-abl u                       |
|                                 | dita pushpa                                  |                                            |
|                                 | ya manavapura pratima pratapah   Kōl ala —   |                                            |
| 41                              | deva nr patih patir-uttamana                 |                                            |
|                                 |                                              | tambhu                                     |
|                                 |                                              | pravīsati                                  |
| saktir gga                      | m adr m jala nidhi jala durggam              | Gauda-rajo visi.                           |
| 42                              | te nivasat Vanavase Kuntalo                  | rembha ma                                  |
|                                 | ta                                           |                                            |
|                                 | ya kirtaniya puny anvitaya n unaye svayam=   |                                            |
| 43                              | ru chitāya nam-ulikhita sa                   | re varsha nrpatih                          |
| ma                              | yakha                                        | t tathā Sarasadollakam Vakkadollaka Rajyau |
| 44                              | cl chuko Kasapundika                         | puram cha                                  |
| palh                            | kal Ābhirapa l                               | Sarasvatī   Teshām dvadesakan=cha kava     |
|                                 | cha kshetram=eva cha                         |                                            |
| 45                              | Samanta patakus=cha a va va                  | l yapod sasana                             |
| mity-ap sa                      | Bhadvachnura Tujumva cha Kul ud ya           | Rajo gram anvit a                          |
| 46                              | petan=asanatyena dattavan                    | [ved]anta puragaya gar yasa                |
|                                 | para jan aki nam purastha(?)dya=samastakam   | Bla tyā samarppayamasa                     |
|                                 | susana v-e                                   |                                            |
| 47                              | nam l hupatih    Karodhakam Vrahma pur s vva | l apendil ām Nanne                         |
| śvara kshetram adar Somanathava | sa                                           | putrā Śr Yuvarajena p hita                 |
| santara r-nripah                | Akalpa                                       |                                            |



48 sūāyā bhūyād=antāh Śava-tapē bhātām<sup>1</sup> || Bhāradvājā Juvaya-Śrīmat-  
Trjivardhana-nandanah | piasastā ~ ~ ~ ~ ta stutyām madhur=ummadhurayā  
grāh || Alēkh lēkhakēn=ajam=A

49 vṛkha tann-janmanā aksharam=hushadī spashṭau Śivanāgēna dhimatā ||  
Utkirānā sūtradhārēna Madasara sūtēna cha | Mādhavēna na ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ gumnā  
visākarmanā<sup>1</sup> ||

### Translation

Om! Salutation to Śiva ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ the skill of moving  
arms ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ the ling of white mountains ~ ~ ~ ~ arms of the deep  
lightning which moves in the sky ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ at that time ~ ~ ~ ~ who  
acted according to his own wishes in uttering deep sounding calls, the dweller  
of the mountain, the mooncrested one, let him cause us joy (1)

O Nandin, who is that, possessing good qualities, who has entered ~ ~ ~ ~  
Let Śiva, the silent, protect us ~ ~ ~ ~ let it be seen ~ ~ ~ ~ by what arm  
~ ~ ~ ~ has been made to fall in front, he the enemy of the gods, the excellent  
one, who had assumed your form ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ (2).

In this world, the abode of the Suddhāntikas (Śarvas) named Madhumatī  
is high and laughs (in derision) at the heaven which (Madhumatī) was (full of)  
peacocks, shrieking and dancing in joy, at the rise of clouds, out of season formed  
by the masses of deep smoke (of sacrifices), ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ the splendour of  
flashing jewels placed here and there on the array of palaces ~ ~ ~ ~ (3)

Being born in which family, previously, great performers of austerities,  
devoted to the performances of vows taught the liberal doctrine of Śiva, which  
was devoid of all faults, to disciples, whose fame (which was) as white as if it had  
been washed with nectar, which acted on the very learned, as the moon acts on  
lotus flowers in gladdening them, whitens the universe even to-day (4)

In this great family of Śarvas was (born) the illustrious Chūḍāśiva, who,  
by his visible glory, burnt sin, which was like dry fuel, like wild fire, who was  
the sage respected among sages, whose very white fame, born of the possession  
of the wealth of knowledge by the meditation on the pair of feet of Bhava (Śiva),  
was spread all over the three worlds (5)

His disciple was the sage named Prabhāvaśiva, the learned, famous in the  
three worlds, whose footstool was worshipped by the accumulation of the lustre  
of jewels in the crests on the heads of numerous bowing kings (6)

Having brought him, Yuvarājadēva, the son of the illustrious Mṇḍhatunga,  
who possessed the knowledge of polity, on account of a sudden desire for good  
fame, which came into being on account of the welfare of all sentient beings,  
caused to accept a monastery, built at great cost (7)

His disciple was the illustrious sage named Prasāntaśiva, who was the sole  
abode of all exceedingly beautiful qualities, who was famed in the entire uni-  
verse by force of (on account of) his learning, who was increasing (in fame) on  
account of spotless austerities (8)

Lakshmi being attracted by (his) long accumulated austerities to him (who) on account of the desire of final emancipation (*nishreyas*) was averse to pleasure and she being desirous of bodily contact with him and having been ordered by him to benefit others obtained fixity (i.e. became stationary) like a very truthful wife in the houses of the good who were his (*Prasantasiras*) friends (9)

Having taken to self sacrifice (as a support) like a pillar having obtained the work of sprinkling the water of *śānta* knowledge he who was protecting the frontiers with his increasing force of austerities in this fashion increased (in fame) like a wishing tree full of fame by whose fame the vase like interior of the universe was at once filled (10)

By him a temple of Śiva was established (built) to the north of the temple, which was like shining peak of the Kailas mountain built by the illustrious Yuvarajadevi which temple appeared to be as high as the peak of the Sumeru mountain which was famous in the world which caused wonder in the three worlds (and) which temple acted like a stair way (to heaven equally) to his fame as well as to those going to heaven (11)

Who whose vast fame was well known the learned dedicated images of Uma Uma mixed with Śiva (*Śiva Durgā*) and Shradhanana (*Karttikēya*) in the temples surrounding the place or big temple as well as those of Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati at the gate (12)

Who built another abode for *Siddhas* on the bank of the river Śonā (he) who had quenched all desires for goods of desire with gold which had emerged (purified) from burning (i.e. fire) having entered which abode Yogins who had exterminated sorrow and illness by (the performance of vows) (who were) free from passions and who had accomplished profound meditation who were eager to obtain emancipation obtain the rank of emancipation (13)

He the sage with a mind to live in a holy place, in order to obtain final rest built an abode (for performing) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges) having worshipped which (properly) the inhabitants of Benares who are devoted to the worship of Mahesvara, think the ocean of the world (existence), heavy yet weak to be a - - - - - pool formed by the footprint of a cow (14)

Seated in a solitary place his days were passed with qualified able men who were well versed in knowledge relating to Śiva always - - - - - he who was used to the proper mode of sitting in meditation whose mind was fixedly devoted to the meditation of Śiva in his lotus like heart (15)

Whose disciples roam always evitant in deep darkness on account of their own powers which were as bright as the rays of the powerful Sun Whose fame was vast on account of the gift - - - - - a spark of the light of knowledge whose orders were held on the head of kings (and) who were worshipped by the principal sages (16)

His (disciple) was - - - - - whose fame was sung by all principal poets whose lotus like feet were caused to be reddened by the splen

dour of the jewels on the garlands on the crowns of the kings of the entire universe such as the illustrious Isara and Sankara (Sankaragana<sup>2</sup>) (17)

(L 23) ----- by whom ----- of all petitioners for charity ----- the goddess of fortune, who had obtained the situation of enjoyment by her who removes the sorrows of evil plight in the profession of being able to destroy the mixture caused by the ties of existence

(Ll 24 25) He (who was 2) hon in the profession of subduing the elephant of death in the shape of the Kali (age) (who was) the endless ocean of learning, the castemark on the forehead of the illustrious Mattamayūra clan having given his place to his own younger named Prabōdhasiva, who was the receptacle of endless good qualities obtained satisfaction in this world

(L 26) ----- by whom, the ocean of self sacrifice austerities and meditation ----- caused to be built by his own master -----

(L 27) -----  
----- the obstacles to perfection ----- leaps in the sky -----

(L 28) -----  
----- having obtained what was wished for before -----

(L 29) -----  
----- good work -----  
----- caused to be built -----

(L 30) -----  
----- the high soul ----- in front of his place -----

(L 31) -----  
----- in ten millions -----  
----- whose high -----

(L 32) -----  
----- able to -----  
----- Śumanta pātala -----

(L 33) -----  
in this family marked with a deer -----

(L 34) -----  
-----  
having taken from the bottom ----- known -----

(L 35) -----  
----- having defeated the lord of Gujara -----

(L 36) ----- the protection of -----  
 ----- family -----

(L 37) -----  
 -----  
 the joyful ----- crest jewel -----  
 (L 38) ----- from  
 him ----- foe ----- was (born) the valiant -----

(L 39) -----  
 -----  
 who had taken the vow of fighting -----  
 ----- the sea of valour, the  
 terrible fighter ----- was the king -----

(L 40) ----- from him  
 was born -----  
 unequalled in valour among men, Kōkalla

(L 41) The king ----- enters ----- the king  
 of Ganda should ----- enter his water forts in the sea

(L 42) The Kuntala king lives in Vanavāsa ----- himself  
 to the Muni who was possessed of merit ----- to be sung -----

(L 43) ----- worshipped ----- mentioned above -----  
 the king ----- Śārsadōllaka Vakadōllaka, Rajya u

(L 44) cichukā ----- Kasa ----- punḍikā ----- puna -----  
 ----- Abhirapālī ----- Sarasavatī ----- To  
 them the ----- twelfth Kavecha field

(L 45) As well as Sāmanta pātaka ----- Bhadravachurā  
 Tujumbā and Kukkuḍiyā Given to those possessing passion (*rajas*)

(L 46) by an order (*sāsana*) -----  
 -----  
 ----- to the great one, who had seen the end of Vedānta,  
 ----- endless crowded ----- the king gave  
 this order out of devotion.

(L 47) Karōḍhaka, Vrahmapurī ----- Kapōndikā ----- the field (called)  
 Nannēsvara was given to (the god) Sōmanārha ----- by his father Yuva-  
 rājadēva, and protected by intermediate kings.

(L 48 49) This property of the austere Śaiva ascetics, may it last till the  
 end of times This sweet *prasasti* was composed with sweet words ----- in  
 praise ----- by ----- the son of Trayivardhana  
 of the Bhāradvāja lineage This (*prasasti*) was written on stone, with clear  
 letters, by the scribe, the intelligent Śivanāga, born of the body of Ārvōka  
 Incised by the mason, the gifted artisan Mādharma, son of Madasara

## III. The Rewa inscription of Vapullaka.

## Text

1 - - - - - say=āmād yad=dṛṣṭv=āpi svavēdyam  
sumatashu munayū=p=śṣtatēn=ōpadēśam | Traikṣi—āpa jñā<sup>1</sup> (?)

2 - - - - - sam - - - - - sukṛtmām sva sa yēvas=tad  
-astu<sup>2</sup> || Prālēy-āchala-sāgar-āmvara-dharān=kṛtya-valād=yo=valān kārāgārā<sup>3</sup>

3 - - - - - pamēya-chaṇṭā Kōkalladēvād=abhūt=  
tasmād=vāndhi vānt-āvanpatah Śi Karmā dēvō=bhavat || Yō mṛtra-bhṛ<sup>4</sup>

4 - - - - - sah āsanna-sa[ivva]kāladaḥ kṣhṛti bhṛd-  
varāny=amal-uchcha<sup>5</sup>-mastaka-kṛt-ātma-pada-pratishṭhaḥ || <sup>6</sup> Dha[r]mmajñēna(na)  
nakḥaḥ purāna charanah

5 - - - - - tā-bhāsurah Vēdō dhyānta mukḥaḥ suniti-  
nayanō hōma sphurat kēsarō jyad=vah kah-lumjara jvara karah Śrī(śrī)-Karmā<sup>7</sup>

6 - - - - - isata p(i)śāsata mahīm Chēd indra-  
chūdāmanau tat pād āmvuḥa pūjānē sthūramastir=Vapula-nāmā kṛti<sup>8</sup> tam pūr-  
vāt=prathitāt pūndituvanē hi <sup>(9)</sup> Jyē - - -

7 - - - - - val lakṣmīyā lakṣita lakṣhanah kṣhṛti talē lakṣhē(a)ka-nām=  
ābhavat Tasmād=Viṇṇala-Rānakū=<sup>10</sup> n-gahana-prōddāna dāvān<sup>9</sup>

8 (la) - - - - - syā bhujō nija-gun-irjita-sādhu-śāldō vīrō  
vabhūva bhuvī Vīgraharāja-nāmā sen āhava mḥata vani vilāsin chiram<sup>10</sup>—

9. - - - - - na viśāma pātram=alhavach=cha sa vīra-lakṣhanah |  
Vapullak=ēti cha kṛta nija nāma putrā yah pūrva vira-sama vāmana pa<sup>11</sup>—

10. - - - - - dvaya ākasmika tataḥ sū cha samuchitā sūdarām |  
yān=cheshitān<sup>12</sup> | Lōkē Ghōtaka vīgrah=ēti vi

11. - - - - - chandrē tataḥ || Yah Pīta-parivvata-talā<sup>13</sup> samarē  
dhṛt-āsir=jyutvā Trilochana-valam Mum Viṇṇala Śrīh<sup>14</sup> avasu lō

12 - - - - - sa l shṛtm=alakāśhṛta<sup>15</sup> sa siva<sup>16</sup> guna kirana[h] Tarmma-  
grāmō Kādamvary-ābhidhānē amaraḥ padam kar—īyatanam ||

13 - - - - - -sa mumbhu=yath ōkta-vidhmā linga pratishṭhāpitam  
| Yāt-pārambha dā id=anu-pratidinam Śmā putra pauti anugā jātā cham<sup>17</sup>—

14 - - - - - nah siva<sup>18</sup> kri<sup>(2)</sup>tē Śrī-Vatsa nāmā  
kṛtam | Pārsavē dēvakulī-chatusṭa(ya<sup>19</sup>)-yutar=tāsu kāmād=dēvatāh<sup>19</sup> | Isaṇē<sup>20</sup>

15 - - - - - -ya Lakṣmī= sambhār-āsanā<sup>21</sup> || Tasy=  
inṭka sa tinnim<sup>22</sup> bahn vidha vitapām cha vātikā puritah | Saja

<sup>1</sup> Sragdāra<sup>2</sup> Read sa va tad-astu<sup>3</sup> Suddulavirāḍita<sup>4</sup> Suddulavirāḍita<sup>5</sup> Read an al uchcha<sup>6</sup> Vāsi tatitaka<sup>7</sup> Suddulavirāḍita<sup>8</sup> Suddulavirāḍita<sup>9</sup> Suddulavirāḍita<sup>10</sup> Vāsi tatitaka<sup>11</sup> Vāsi tatitaka<sup>12</sup> Read I aṇ cī, Hitan<sup>13</sup> Read tal<sup>14</sup> Vāsi tatitaka<sup>15</sup> Read malā ar=, ita<sup>16</sup> Read Siva<sup>17</sup> Suddulavirāḍita<sup>18</sup> Read Siva<sup>19</sup> Suddulavirāḍita<sup>20</sup> Read Isāne<sup>21</sup> Read asana<sup>22</sup> Read tarira

- 16 \_\_\_\_\_ s=āntahpurē sa suta-bhṛtya yutē prasannah  
bhūyāch=cha kulp-āntun-atulyapuja<sup>1</sup> Śrī Vapuliśvara itī prabhita Śivō<sup>2</sup>
- 17 \_\_\_\_\_ sahita yady=atra Lammam Sivāya<sup>3</sup> nivēdya  
-manē na glāhavit=kavachana kāmchanam mē punyēna tē (?) na ja-
- 18 \_\_\_\_\_ sya panch=śyatanam Śivasya Tāmanu<sup>4</sup>=  
Hṛṣṭukēsa sutena bhaktiā Virū (?)ka nāmnā rachitā prasastih<sup>5</sup> ||
- 19 \_\_\_\_\_ t prajā tasya cha putu Prāvā nāmnā  
Nayanāval=itū vidiyāta s=ākāraavan=manōjā s omām Mālēśvarīm piatmām ||
- 20 \_\_\_\_\_ dūyo pūlanudhyāta samvatsara 812 śrīmat-  
Karma prakṛte vyavaharanāyā navama samvatsarē Māgha sudī 10 Gauru
- 21 \_\_\_\_\_ bhikṣitā prasastih || kalpasthāyini bhavatu  
ma(n)gala mahā Śrīh || h ||
- 22 Om namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya | Om namō Gaṇapatayē ||

## Translation

- (L 1) \_\_\_\_\_  
having obtained satisfaction \_\_\_\_\_ having also seen—his own know-  
ledge, among people possessing good intelligence, the sages \_\_\_\_\_  
good advice of Śiva (*Trail śha*) \_\_\_\_\_
- (L 2) \_\_\_\_\_  
of meritorious people his own \_\_\_\_\_ he himself was \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Having made rulers of the earth  
(which is) clothed with the seas from the Hmaṭṭya mountains  
helpless with his aimes \_\_\_\_\_
- (L 3) \_\_\_\_\_  
of the incomparable character (ie Gāṅgāyādēva) was born from  
Kōkalladēva (ie Kōkalladēva II), (and) from him was born the illus-  
trious Karmnadēva the lord of earth, who was turned back (ie de-  
feated) only by the sea Who \_\_\_\_\_ friends and servants
- (L 4) \_\_\_\_\_  
who gave (gifts) at all times \_\_\_\_\_ near \_\_\_\_\_ the chief among  
men \_\_\_\_\_ who established himself in his (proper) rank by his spot-  
less high head (?) \_\_\_\_\_ by those who had knowledge  
of the laws (*Dharmāna*), in whom there was no sky (?) \_\_\_\_\_ old feet \_\_\_\_\_
- (L 5) \_\_\_\_\_  
fierce with matted hair Let (that) illustrious Karma live long, who  
caused fever to the Kāl age which was like an elephant the hair  
on whose body was standing on its end on account of the perform-  
ance of numerous hōma ceremonies, whose outlook was just who  
read the Vēdas with his mouth \_\_\_\_\_  
you \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>1</sup> Read *guyak*<sup>2</sup> Read *Siva*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Sivaya*<sup>4</sup> Read *Tāmanu*.<sup>5</sup> *Indrataya*.

(L 6) \_\_\_\_\_  
 when this crest jewel of the lords of Chedi was ruling over the earth  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Vapula, the able whose mind was fixed in the worship  
 of whose lotus like feet him \_\_\_\_\_ known from before \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ in Pinditavana \_\_\_\_\_

(L 7) \_\_\_\_\_  
 whose (auspicious) signs were indicated by the goddess of fortune  
 who was known on the earth by the name of one who had only one  
 arm From him was born Vijjala Ranaka who was like fierce wild  
 fire among his forest-like enemies

(L 8) \_\_\_\_\_  
 arms who had obtained for himself the epithet the god by his  
 own qualities was born on the earth by name Vighraharaja who in  
 battle \_\_\_\_\_ the wives of his enemies slain in the battle of armies  
 \_\_\_\_\_ long

(L 9) \_\_\_\_\_  
 who was marked with the signs of a hero who was the object of  
 trust was (born) whose name Vipullaka was given by his father  
 who \_\_\_\_\_ equality with past heroes \_\_\_\_\_

(L 10) \_\_\_\_\_  
 two afterwards sudden \_\_\_\_\_ he also—in the thick \_\_\_\_\_ proper  
 \_\_\_\_\_ famous in this world as the Battle of  
 Horses \_\_\_\_\_

(L 11) \_\_\_\_\_  
 in the moon \_\_\_\_\_ from that \_\_\_\_\_ who held the sword in the valley  
 of the yellow mountain (*Pita parvata* having conquered the forces of  
 Trilochana and the goddess of fortune of the ascetic Vijjala Up to  
 the tenth in Ilion \_\_\_\_\_

(L 12) \_\_\_\_\_  
 that village of Tarmama which has caused the earth to be lowered  
 (the which is the best of villages) which is possessed of rays which  
 are qualities causing good (and) \_\_\_\_\_ in the subject of the name  
 of the Kadamvam \_\_\_\_\_ the rank of the  
 immortals \_\_\_\_\_

(L 13) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Inga was dedicated according to the form stated by the sage (Vyasa)  
 From the first day every day \_\_\_\_\_ the goddess of fortune was  
 obtained in sequence by sons and grandsons \_\_\_\_\_

(L 14) \_\_\_\_\_  
 made for Siva \_\_\_\_\_ was made \_\_\_\_\_ by name Srivatsa connected  
 with four small temples on sides in them (were the following) gods  
 in the north eastern (side) \_\_\_\_\_

- (L 15) \_\_\_\_\_  
Lakshmi with ornaments was placed He \_\_\_\_\_ many different  
trees and a red villa in front \_\_\_\_\_ her \_\_\_\_\_
- (L 16) \_\_\_\_\_  
He being pleased \_\_\_\_\_ in the female apartments together with  
sons and servants \_\_\_\_\_ Let the Śiva known as the illustrious Vapu-  
lesvara be worshipped and peerless till the end of the age \_\_\_\_\_
- (L 17) \_\_\_\_\_  
with \_\_\_\_\_ in this work \_\_\_\_\_ by dedication to Śiva \_\_\_\_\_  
astrologer who is \_\_\_\_\_ gold by my merit \_\_\_\_\_
- (L 18) \_\_\_\_\_  
the five shinned temple of Śiva This eulogy was composed with  
devotion by (a poet) named Viruka, son of Hṛṣīkeśa who was an  
inhabitant of Tamma
- (L 19) \_\_\_\_\_  
His wife whose husband was as dear to her as her life was by  
name Pravara also famous as Nayanavah She caused to be made  
(thus) beautiful image of Mahēśvara with Uma
- (L 20) \_\_\_\_\_  
who meditated on the feet of (Vamadeva i.e. Śiva) in the year 812,  
in the ninth year of the public appearance of the illustrious Karna  
according to law in the month of Magha on the tenth day of the  
bright half on Thursday
- (L 21) \_\_\_\_\_  
this eulogy was caused to be written Let it exist up to the end  
of the ages
- (L 22) \_\_\_\_\_  
Om salutation to the lord Vasudeva Om salutation to Ganapati

#### IV The Rewa Inscription of Malayasimha

*Text.*

1 Om Svasti || Ashtara cakrā akṛti puri na chandriam padmasanastham  
hima saala gauram savy etara pam ga lhadga pustam-valakhyam natva khalu  
Nemjughosham || (1)<sup>1</sup> Malaya simha kulam gunan-atha sva samayena yatho  
chṛta<sup>2</sup>-saktitah avataramti padam yatah svatah sumaha

2 tam namu kena na kirttyate || <sup>3</sup> (2) Vachas=ch=ma pravṛtta mē  
Raver=iva manichayah | Malaya simha kulavja-prabodhaya sahasasali || (3)<sup>4</sup>  
Ati vimala jal aughah plavayanti pavittrai=munivara pura lokat=samstata

<sup>1</sup> *Inaravaj* \*

<sup>2</sup> There is a superfluous superscript *e* in *ya* of *yatha*.

<sup>3</sup> *Anvāṭṭa*

<sup>4</sup> *Drvtar laṃ ta.*

<sup>5</sup> Read *Vāchas tannat*



siddha gīrbhāh | Apramayati suvamsi=jāta mātṛā kumārī kalpa-kalusha-bhāram  
darsu(s)ānān=śaśimadī yā || (4)<sup>1</sup> Tasyās=tat=stī Tripurī puṇī iti tasyām=a-

3 — dnt<sup>2</sup>=Karmā kula prasūtaḥ | Rājān guruh Śrī Vijay-ākhyā-dēvō  
rājā vīśistā vidisūn=dīsām=īś || (5)<sup>3</sup> Yasya prātāp-ānalo-sushkō kanthā<sup>4</sup> rāj-  
ñīm gaṇī amgūh samjñīy=āpī | śasamkam=ōyam vivadamta chintyam<sup>5</sup>  
sevā phalās=tat<sup>2</sup>-sadosī prapannāḥ || (6)<sup>6</sup> Tat-pūrvva pūrvvā bhuvī yē  
bhūbhūvus=teshīm yasō-vaiddhūno mantra mantrī

4 Śrī Jīta nāmā vishvayē nivuktō Vāchaspathiḥ Indira-grihēr=iv<sup>7</sup>=ābhūt ||  
(7)<sup>8</sup> Dharmma dhvājīnām dīpt amaranā<sup>11</sup> guruvīn=visūbhānēn=āvahatō div-  
jūbhāh | Yasy=iva vāhvor=apī pauraushena Śrī Karmā dēvō jītvān apūms=  
cha (8)<sup>12</sup> Tasmīd=Gajāl armma malibā bhaktō mantrasya gōptā bhuvī  
vandu jivah | Jajñe Yasahpāla iti prātites=Tārātmanajah

5 Saumva iv=ēndu-dēvāt || (9)<sup>13</sup> Tasy=ītha puttē=apī vilāla-vāluh srashtṛ  
jagad=vikshya timō puṇḍham | Tad-dyōtanāy=āvayavī subh-āmśur=ādīpah  
prakṣptīh khalu mūrttunīn=iva || (10)<sup>14</sup> Padmam lu padmālaya-Padmasam-  
bah sat pāttra-sulhr-āmkura-suddha-gottṛah | Kshatṛasya vamse sa m-  
dānāvīyī Śrī Chandrasmiḥ āvarajō vijayñe || (11)<sup>15</sup> Suvattra di-

6 — kshu(nmu)kha-visarppi yasah piachanda Chēd-īndra rād-Vijaya-  
mihī gūh aika mantrī | yō vipra vīrya vara dāna valēna rakshēd=dīndriya  
danti patala-dvija-rudḍha deham || (12)<sup>16</sup> Śrī Padmasmīha vidushō=ttīa nīām-  
tī vīluh Śrī Kīrttismiḥa iti smīha-valī vijyāj[e ] || Ārāti chakra hrīdī samkur=  
ssu vīśmko Rīmāh purā Dasaśatīd=iva Kosalēsīh

7 || (13)<sup>17</sup> Sadasi yasya hitā vividhā vudbhūh surapatīr=iva mantrī vidah  
surāḥ | Śusubhurū sasīnah Lūhāmurāḥ<sup>18</sup> prātigatā jagatas=tamasas=chhidē ||  
(14)<sup>19</sup> Sāmānta-mandala suōrūha-pūnanēna<sup>20</sup> mhpūmka pāda vanajō Mala-  
yīnu smīh Śrī Kīrttismiḥa tanayah sa bahhūva vīnah kshātṛasya vam-  
sya samuddherān aika mallah || (15)<sup>21</sup> Vī

8 dyā vikāra<sup>22</sup> -Lumud-ālara-bōdha-chandrō ratnāl-arō=rthī manuyūshu<sup>23</sup>  
chī ratna dānah | Sarvvē gunā Malayasmiḥa narapratishtā dōshōpī sō-  
sya na mugāmla kritō gun-āmkah || (16)<sup>24</sup> Ārāti mitra kamal-augha-vighāta-  
bodhas=tābhīyām dadan=dasa-digamvaram=ujjvalam yah | Sītāmśur=aikā  
iva tikshurī suśaktī-hasta uvvyām=ābhūt=Malayasnaha iti prī

9 vīnah || (17)<sup>25</sup> Āndolavīd=yasya kūrṇānā vāyur=ī vichugatam bhū  
num=iv=īnvu madhyē | Ārāti-senām=avalām vāhshtlah sō=bhūd=ābhūshita-

<sup>1</sup> Hālam<sup>2</sup> Read /it<sup>3</sup> Read /al<sup>4</sup> I. /ravayra<sup>5</sup> Read /an'ha<sup>6</sup> Read /mīyam<sup>7</sup> Read /phalan /at<sup>8</sup> Indravayra<sup>9</sup> Read grī's /ea<sup>10</sup> In /ravayra<sup>11</sup> Read /dhuram=atra<sup>12</sup> Indravayra<sup>13</sup> Indravayra<sup>14</sup> Indravayra<sup>15</sup> Indravayra<sup>16</sup> Vasantatilaka<sup>17</sup> Vasantatilaka<sup>18</sup> Read /manayata<sup>19</sup> Drutavālmata<sup>20</sup> Read /paganera<sup>21</sup> Vasantatilaka<sup>22</sup> Read /ikāta<sup>23</sup> Read /ratnakar-artha<sup>24</sup> Vasantatilaka

ॐ—visuddhih || (18)<sup>1</sup> Avarta sūkti harye samudre phenam mukhe vardhina  
pade=pi vilshya mignam neta na vahur=jagama yasy=aku so=bhūm=Mala  
yasya simhah || (19)<sup>2</sup> Vihra=vi

10 —rah prad[īṭ]=tripada munitam kum tribhuvanam padam dasyam=  
ando ravi hata fur mudi idishu nimanam | Aham jiva tabhyeh sapadi karava-  
lena cha vahu ॐ vah śīlam vseti vyavista valo yah sa jayatu || (20)<sup>3</sup> Yasy=  
an samanti sro visippi nait al al a dīpt-ay śil ha kir- nuh sa prapa tavat=  
tu rane=otia triptini Lailam

11 Iṭ dagdhi=api na manter=ya || (21)<sup>4</sup> Turasham jiva sas nan=api  
dev anala mīle mīla levi Saḥya vicitrati mīgankas=tribhuvane | Ahō  
tasham pi agat=ḥ nigr pati deshi vīlasyam prithivyām devayam janapada  
janair=ultra iti yah || (22)<sup>5</sup> Kaman yath=agur=bhava ne ra janna krōdh-  
atmakah śitra valam dudaha | Vaidhavya

12 —dadhik endhan durgha vaspash saradh dshito yat prati hula  
vadhiva[h] || (23)<sup>6</sup> Sadlakshano niregata lakti mo=bhāvat an Kaikkar-dyan=  
api yo rane yada viluvu-v du vvasanah silumukhah karad=vunul tōy=Mma-  
layasya samhajat || (24)<sup>7</sup> Re re vilrama śura dhavasi vithi m av pa van am  
lilasi magno y syasi n=ī<sup>8</sup>

13 tra kun tava lrate khadg agnam=jalamj<sup>9</sup> || Itv=samli abhi  
hato rane navi dasa sthane=hu vanan=bhridi puto vah paribhuta vīrama valō  
yasinat sa jiv d=eti || (25)<sup>10</sup> Prastada mīla divja devatanam srishṭa vicitrā  
gaganam<sup>12</sup> vilumva | Ien=api jahhy=astv=avardho lūhtya yat iva Bhan=  
ratha esha tūy<sup>13</sup> || (26)<sup>11</sup> Tivi m tapo dūh ha karam prakar-

14 tva Siddha vijamto divam=suddhivam=uckhah Ied=Rauva dev-  
aljayavadhuta<sup>15</sup> ye pravenu te visva padam priyatā || (27)<sup>16</sup> Y=oyam sutis=  
Tallana devi devjas=trajata mntro= mīlanti satrum Bhushmo patl=anla a-  
smanavanti jivat=sa prithvidhau samuj=ōpi || (28)<sup>17</sup> Sri Gargga nama  
rachirama dhoma yasy=abhavach=chiri Ranasmha sunu | Dharmasaya vid-  
ya layakosa lē

15 —klī sarvvadhil irar=va Chitraguptah || (29)<sup>18</sup> Tambula d m adhi  
kntaprayuktah Śrīmaj Jēgat cūmha sūtah samantri | yasy=abhavach=chiri-  
Harismha nama sarvv arthā sampul pari purit asah || (30)<sup>19</sup> Pradhya prachand-  
āri kari pramathu nairacha pas inkusa khadga voddha | vahu prasakty=  
ati dridha prahyah sen āgra yāy=va rane Kumārāh || (31)<sup>20</sup> Brahmano

16 —Śma vadma veda tat-parthā<sup>21</sup> j agna mistimnanu pashondam  
yatra manavakur=api || (32)<sup>22</sup> Sa soma syen agni=nyayati chayanamta-  
divijagano anahum kntva yupai=svi arī chashai orddha katakam | tato vedi

<sup>1</sup> Upend avayra.

<sup>2</sup> Read mardā.

<sup>3</sup> Upendravā

<sup>4</sup> Śīlār

<sup>5</sup> I dravayra

<sup>6</sup> I dravayra

<sup>7</sup> Indravayra

<sup>8</sup> Yamasāva

<sup>9</sup> The punctuation mark is superfluous

<sup>10</sup> Read vjāla je

<sup>11</sup> Sarddūlavir d ta

<sup>12</sup> Read gagan

<sup>13</sup> Read I = al

<sup>14</sup> Ind avayra

<sup>15</sup> Read voddha

<sup>16</sup> I dravayra

<sup>17</sup> Indravayra

<sup>18</sup> Indravayra

<sup>19</sup> I dravayra

<sup>20</sup> I dravayra

<sup>21</sup> Read tato artha.

<sup>22</sup> I dravayra

srōṇm vidha-vihmā<sup>1</sup>-mantiaih kuta-grāma vasanya=smams=tishthan=nu puram  
=ha Kāsthālakam=ti

17 || (33)<sup>2</sup> Bhukt=āpi yasmin=vaiaapām pātrē chakrās=va naktam sva-  
vadhūr=vvihāya | Amhō rruksy āhata-ṛiṇa samghās=tivram tapō vā muna  
ja=charamti || (34)<sup>3</sup> Tigamāsu tāpa-klemaṇ oḍa dal shai ruxshām vichakru=  
stiva ātmanō=mgē piāṇēsa hasta pratikhpti yantira mramukta dhār[ā] pa  
yrsām kal(kal)=aughnh || (35)<sup>4</sup> Pitr=āhi chakrair=mmadhū-

18 —matta mukta[h] | padm-ākar-ālidha mukhan=nnadādbhīh | Ākarn-  
nā mugdhā anujā(gā)payanti grām yasō yasya chi nāga kanyāh || (36)<sup>5</sup>  
Sēvāle<sup>6</sup> | alhūka-vām parnāi sūhka-samghāta kai=ēva mōshau=<sup>7</sup> libhak.  
shau=abha<sup>8</sup> shau=rvitam=amvu vijar=vvajnah sasarj=ārthi saro ya idrik ||  
(37)<sup>8</sup> Kridā pravuttah patibhīh sar orvvan<sup>9</sup> svayam mū

19 ch=ābhū<sup>10</sup> latham=āstutānām | tāsam bhuvō=mgēm kuchōru-  
jamghā dmshtv ākshā-sūtiāny=apatan muninām || (38)<sup>11</sup> Yasmm=ṭire marakata-sū-  
ratuvuddh āsanasthau=vvichī lōlī rajata sūpharī-vamchit ōru-pradēsāih | vipreś  
=triptā amara pitarah sapta divyā<sup>12</sup> manushyā āsamsanti prath[ta]

20 yasasam yam sa jīyād=bhuv=iti || (39)<sup>13</sup> Divy-āngan ānga-nava-kum-  
kuma-pūmka pūma[in] | vām prapūna lava chittanta-rōma mālāh | Kridamti  
yatiā sukhnō bhuvī rājahamsā ambhō mdhānam=atalam prasa(sa)nah sasar-  
jja || (40)<sup>14</sup> Etad ambhō-mdhāniya ētām dasapāṇīcha cha | Bhagava=mmudayā  
yō=mi tamkak nāni vja-

21. yē=karōt || (41)<sup>15</sup> Sarvv ārtha sārthas=tutajai=vvachōbhuv=vvamdi-  
janāih sanistuta ēvī yō=bhūt | Siddhārtha yōgi Malayānu smba[h] svasmar<sup>16</sup>  
bhavēyuh subhadās=ndevāh || (42) Vāstavya-vritti-pratham aka-lmgam  
nūm=āpy=ābhūd=Uddharanō vipaschit | uddhrtiya mahyāni amritam grih-  
tum iōk aka nātli=ōtha yath=ēsa mūrtah || (43)<sup>17</sup>

22 Tasy=ōtho putrah pramad-ābhūramō yushtah snyā Sridhara mūritn=  
āsīt | iān=āvanī sarvā-guṇā gun-aughah punyau=anēkas=cha kūtā pavitrā ||  
(44)<sup>18</sup> Tasy=īja sūnu=bhuvī Thakkurō yō Lakshmīddharō Lakshana-kāvya-  
vettā Vidyādhara=tasya babhūva=putrah sarv vadhikār ārtha guna-piavī  
nah || (45)<sup>19</sup> Arthā trayānām

23 =m<sup>20</sup> api tatva-yuktah Kāmasya sūēnī tu kumchid=ēva Vidyā  
dhārō=thi=īsa sarō dhikarttā<sup>21</sup> hetu=āthārtthah Sagaro babhūva || (46)<sup>22</sup>  
Svrahsanikhyāthane vidvān=āstavyah Purushōttamach | Śrīmad=Valkya  
putrō=bhūv=āchīrī Sridharō yathī || (47)<sup>23</sup> Pañcha kratūnām=api yas=cha  
krūtā Śrī Rāmehandiō=tha babhūva vidvān | tasy=ātha pu-

<sup>1</sup> Read i ala

<sup>2</sup> Sūlāra

<sup>3</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>4</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>5</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>6</sup> Read kaurā

<sup>7</sup> Read sarvghāta vāni ādyau

<sup>8</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>9</sup> Read sarvānām

<sup>10</sup> Read sarvānām āhūsa

<sup>11</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>12</sup> Read dēva

<sup>13</sup> Mandānta

<sup>14</sup> Pasa tātāka

<sup>15</sup> Anuśūdh

<sup>16</sup> Read tasmā

<sup>17</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>18</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>19</sup> In Jātayru

<sup>20</sup> This ma is superfluous

<sup>21</sup> Read sarvādhikartā

<sup>22</sup> In Jātayru

24 —tro=pr Divākara ākhyah sarvvaṣṭā-kalpō dvija mukhya ēva || (48)<sup>1</sup>  
 Tasya=ātha putrō guru bhakti chittō daivāch=chhriyā jah parihma-jātaḥ |  
 Ātrēya gōtrō nanu Kṛṣṇa-pūrvvāh Kāśīnivāsi cha parōpakārī || (49)<sup>2</sup>  
 Tīrtikē jñānam=atīva yasya chaturah sabd ārthe-sāstrē tathā munāms-ādli gatō  
 vipaschid=abhavad=vēdām—

25 ta-yūg-ādi dhūh | Vēd-ābhyāsa rataḥ sadā suvidushām mūrdhm pra-  
 vaddh āmjaḥ=viprah Śrī-Purushōttamō bhuvī mahān=buddhyō cha vāchas  
 patih || (50)<sup>3</sup> Tēn=ēyam=śiṣṭ-āṅga suvṛtta vṛttā hāraṣya yashtis=ha sad  
 artha guchohā sad vamsa muktā-phala kṛttī sūtiā sasta prāśastih suvirm  
 mut=ēva || (51)<sup>4</sup> Utkunnā Sūtra-

26 —dhārena Śrīmad Gāhāna sūmanā | nāmn=Anantēna handiēr-yāh<sup>5</sup>  
 suddh=ēyam vamsa paddhath || (52)<sup>6</sup> Chatvārimsaty adlokō=vdū chaturbhū-  
 mvamē satē } Sukrē Sāhasa mall āmkē Nābhasye prathamē dinē || (53)<sup>7</sup>  
 Samvat 944 Bhādrapada sudi 1 Sūl rē Śrīmad Vijayasīmhadēva-rājyē — Mam-

27 galam mahāsrīh || O || Śrīh || Dauvārya kārya kshama Ratna[p<sup>2</sup>] ākh  
 yō yasy=ābhavad=Dalha sūta ∪ virah | Dvar=īva Namdi Garisasya lyuktah  
 samgrāma su(sū)rō nṛpa darppa marddī || (54)<sup>8</sup>

### Translation

Om Benediction ' Having bowed to Mañjunghosha, who is as white as the snowy mountain (Himalaya) who is as the full moon, round in shape, as the wheel of eight spokes who is (seated) on a lotus throne, in whose right hand is a sword (*Khadga*) and in whose left a book (*pusta*), I shall speak of the family (*kula*), as well as the qualities, of Malayasimha, in proper time with necessary vigour, where the parts of verses appear of their own accord Who cannot describe the fame of the great (1 2) ?

As the rays of the sun (are engaged in opening lotus flowers) so, this my voice, is engaged in opening the lotus of the family of Malayasimha (3)

That Narmadā, which flows with sacred, very pure masses of water from the abode of the chief of the Munis (ie *Amaraśantāna*), like a virgin born of a good family, removes the weight of sins due to the Kāl age, by sight only (4)

On her bank is a city named Tripurī, where (is) a king named the illustrious Vṛjayadēva, born of the famed family of Karna, who is the ruler of all the different points of the horizon (5)

In whose assembly, kings, whose throats were parched on account of the fire of his power, whose only object was (his) service (ie to render service to him), sitting in his court, always spoke by signalling with fingers, out of fear (for him) (6)

<sup>1</sup> *Indra-ayra*

<sup>2</sup> *Indra-ayra*

<sup>3</sup> *Sarādālu-śrīpūṣṭa*

<sup>4</sup> *Indra-ayra*

<sup>5</sup> Read *Chandraya*.

<sup>6</sup> *Anushubh*

<sup>7</sup> *Anushubh*.

<sup>8</sup> *Indra-ayra*

The illustrious Jai was the adviser of his predecessors who had been in this world in the incantation for increasing their fame in (this) district (*vishaya*) as Brihaspati is in the house of Indra (7)

Who was carrying great weight among the religious by gifts to the twice born, also by the valour of whose arms the illustrious Karmadeva had vanquished his foes (8)

From him was born (a son) known as Yasahpala as was born the son of Soma (*Budha*) the son of Tara from the Moon god who was a devotee of the lord of earth Gaurāmaṇi (and) who was worshipped of all beings in this world and the keeper of counsels (9)

Then was born his son, Padmasimha, with moving arms (who was) the moon personified, whose family was of good origin (*arjuna*) and consisted of good members (*putra*) who was the progenitor of a royal line and who was the younger brother of Chन्द्रisimha (10 11) Brahman having seen the world covered with the darkness (of ignorance) (created him as it were) for its illumination

He, who by force of the boon bestowed by the chief of Brahmanas protects the bodies of the twice born, lessened by the masses of the elephants of poverty was the only minister in the palace of the chief king among the lords of Cūḍī, the powerful Vijayasimha whose name is everywhere spreading to the cardinal points (12)

In this family was born the illustrious Kirttisimha from the illustrious Padmasimha who possessed of long arms was as powerful as an elephant (He being like) a wedge in the hearts of (his) enemies (and) fearless (was born) as in the olden days Rama the lord of Kosala (was) from Dasaratha (13)

Whose court was adorned with various learned men who were (his) well wisers and who were like the gods who had knowledge of incantations (*mantras*) in the assembly of Indra and (who were also) like the rays of the moon spread for dispelling the darkness (of ignorance) of the world (14)

Mahāsimha, the valourous the son of the illustrious Kirttisimha was (born), whose lotus like feet became tre from mud on account of their worship with the heads of the assembly of feudatories He was the peerless wrestler in the saving of people born in royal families (15)

He was the cause of the spread of learning as the moon causes Kumuda flowers to open who had become the sea (the mine of jewels) by giving jewels to needy men All qualities had become established in Mahāsimha in whom, on account of his qualities the deermark (also known as the *lalanda* i.e. fruits) of the moon did not exist (16)

Who was like the moon in causing prosperity to friends (as the moon opens lotus flowers) and the sun in killing *enemies* (as the sun dries up lotus flowers) and by giving them (friendship or enmity) he made the skies of the ten points bright with a sharp sword in his hands Mahāsimha the able, was (born) on the earth (17)

The wind caused by the movements of whose sword caused the trembling of the forces of (his) enemies, just as (the reflection) of the sun amidst waves in water. He the strong was————— in the feet of good (?) (18)

The armies of his enemies drowned in the sea of his horsemen whose horses had foam in their mouths just as the sea has foam (at its ends &c on breakers) and who had wheels and other marks on their foreheads just as the sea possesses whirlpools and oysters seeing these never came out (of it). He is (&c such was) the lion of Malaya (19)

What great gift the valiant Bali had given in giving the three worlds for the three steps of Vishnu? I shall give the rains of the Moon Hara Hara Indra and Bhishma by conquering from them by the sword quickly or I shall give them — Let him (who says so) with the active army be victorious (20)

In this battle he who was like fire from the edge of the sword brightened by the red eyes in the heads of the feudatories of his enemies obtained (said) satisfaction as the son of the wind (*Hemumat*) himself did not obtain by burning Lalita (21)

In the mouth of the gods (&c fire &c in performing sacrifices) having delighted Indra (and) in their earth this (Malayasinha) is called by citizens————— Sesha the King of Snakes (and) the Moon with the queen Sachi (being expelled from heaven) travel in the three worlds (22)

As the fire born in the eyes of Siva burnt Kama so the fire of his anger burnt the armies of his enemies. The fire was strengthened by the fuel consisting of the tears of sorrow on account of widowhood of the wives of his enemies (23)

In war in Karkaredi he Salakshana (who was possessed of all the auspicious signs) was bereft of any auspicious signs having had the misfortune of (having) his arms cut off by the *śūmāḍha* arrow discharged by the hand belonging to the lion of Malaya (24)

Let him your saviour obtain long life (who said to Vilainaditya) having wounded him slightly in nine or ten places in the heart in battle on account of which he became without valour or power. O valiant Vikrama you are running in vain, having been sunk in the ocean of (my) arrows you will not go out. What is the use of my taking out my sword for you? (25)

By whom palaces of gods and the twice born were built beautiful and as high as the sky on account of the fear of obstruction (by them) the wheel of the chariot of the sun goes untouched (with difficulty) (26)

Siddhas go to high heaven having performed fierce painful austerities, (but) those who worship at the shrine of Rama built by him (Malayasinha) they mostly obtain the feet of God (without endeavour) (27)

Let him the King obtain long life, who was the son of the lady Tadhana devi who saves friends and kills enemies who was like Bhishma (who lived for many years) with many equals and with relations (or younger brothers) (28)

Like Chitrāngupta whose (Malayasinha's) winter of legal affairs (*dharmaṇṇa*), education (*vidya*) horses (*haya*) treasury (*dhosa*) and with supreme power (&c

chief officer) was of the name of Śu Gargga, son of the illustrious Rāmasimha who was possessed of adequate and excellent qualities (29)

Whose (Malayāsīmha's) minister was of the name of the illustrious Hariśimha who had been employed as the distributor of betel leaves (in court or Durbar) who was the son of the illustrious Jagatśimha and who had fulfilled the wishes of all claimants for charity, with wealth (30)

Who (Harsimha) was the punisher of the great and fierce elephants of (his enemies), who fought with *naucha* arrows, noose (i.e. a lasso) in elephant gold and sword the blows of whose arms were very heavy (and) who was the foremost of the army in battle like Kūmarī (Karttikūyī) (31)

Where unbelievers were driven out by ordinary persons who were worshippers of Brahman and Īśana who had knowledge of the inner meaning of the Vēdas (32)

Living where the twice born versed in sacrifices, having made the earth full of sacrificial posts with the rays of the sun as the round wooden rings (*chāśhala*) on their tops (i.e. filled the earth with sacrifices) (and) afterwards while reciting spells had down by law (*vidhā*) brought the fires with *soma* and hawk shaped vessels to the luplike side of the sacrificial altar (i.e. performed the *Soma Yajna*) (33)

Where the Chakravāka birds also who without killing (other) groups of beings pained with looking at the water (constantly) having fed out of excellent vessels formed of their palms (and) having left their mates at night performed fierce undertakes like Mṛguś (34)

(Where) women sprinkled their bodies with the flows of streams of water issuing from machines from the palms of their husbands, which (flow) was skilled in removing the fatigue caused by the heat of the sun (35)

Having heard songs of his fame sung by drowsing bees with drunken mouths having drunk honey and with their mouths set in the calyx of lotus flowers, (one thinks that) infatuated N-ga damsels are singing (his praise) (36)

Who created this tank with (2 masonry) banks, with aquatic animals, with edible and inedible, water moss (*sarvala*), the white water lily (*pālharā*) water plants (*raupam*), lotus roots (*solula*) etc (37)

On the surface of the tank women engaged in playing in with their husbands remained discreet (*samyagya*) (and) having seen their bodies eye brows breasts and thighs the rosaries of sages fell down (38)

On whose banks, the gods the nimes (*pīris*) the seven Rishis, men, pleased by Vipras seated on its banks on seats built of green stones, with their thighs touched by silvery *saphar* fishes, on the movement of waves praised him whose fame was well known let him (Malayāsīmha) live long on the earth (39)

(He) created this fathomless tank the receptacle of water, where in the world cease being happy, with their feathers coloured with the spray of waves yellow with the paste of fresh saffron from the bodies of beautiful women departed (40)

Who spent fifteen hundred *tanūalas* (2 silver coins) stamped with the effigy of the lord (*Bhagavat* i.e. Buddha) for the creation of this reservoir of water (41)

He, Malayanusimha the ascetic who had obtained fulfilment (of desires) was praised by singers in words born of praise which contained all manner of things. Let all gods be propitious to him (42)

Then, there was a learned man, name Uddharana who like Īśa (Śiva) the unequalled lord of the people who having dug the earth for the sale of nectar, which was the foremost means of maintaining lives of men became indeed the dehvener (uddharana) (43)

Afterwards was (born) his son Śrīdhara who was agreeable to ladies who possessed the goddess of fortune and was like Viṣṇu (Śrīdhara) in appearance, by whom with his collection of good qualities the world made pure and possessed of many good qualities (44)

His son was Lakṣmīdhara who was versed in symbolism and poetry (and) who was a lord on the earth. His son was Vidyadhara who was versed in the qualities required in chief officers (45)

Vidyādhara the cause as well as the supervisor of the tank who was versed in the meaning of the three viṃśas (*dharma artha* and *mokṣa*) and little of the essence of Kama became in reality Sāgara (who was the cause of the bringing of Ganges in the earth) (46)

Living in Śrāṅgāṅkhyabana like Āchārya Śrīdhara was the well known the learned the son of the illustrious Vāhana Puruṣottama (47)

(? His son) was the learned the performer of the five sacrifices Rāma-chandra. His son was Divākhara by name the foremost among the twice-born almost equal to the omniscient (48)

Then his son whose mind was centred in devotion to his spiritual preceptor, born in the race of Atri before whom Kṛṣṇa was born who was born separated from the goddess of fortune by accident whose knowledge of logic was profound as well as in Lexicography (who was) clever as well as conversant with the *mnemonic* learning engaged in reading the Vēda, who was strong in Vedānta and Yoga (who caused) the hands of the learned which were clasped together to be raised to their heads (i.e. who was always saluted by the learned) (and) who was equal to Vācaspati in intelligence was born Puruṣottama the great twice born on the earth (49 50)

By him this cluster of good descriptions two sides ("yashita") of this garland of good metres and well meant words, similes etc. this thread of fame of the pearl-like members of a good family this enlogium was well composed (51)

This family description of the lunar race (?) was written by the mason Ananta the son of the illustrious Gādhana (52)

In the year forty increased by four over nine hundred named *Sahasamālā* year on the first day of Nabhasya (Bhādrapada) on Friday (53)

In the year 944 on the first day of the bright half of Bhādrapada, on Friday in the reign of the illustrious Vijayasimha

Whose (Māyā-simha's) gate keeper was named Ratnakara the valiant the son of Deha who was skilled in performing the duties of a doorkeeper who was valiant in battle (and) who was the destroyer of the pride of enemies as Nandi was of Śiva (54)



## V. Vaidyanātha Temple Inscription at Bheraghat

*Text*

- 1 Maharājñi Śrī mad-Gosalādēvi [Mahārājñi]  
 2 —ja śrīmad-Vijayasmīhadēva————[Śrīma]  
 3 d=Ajayasmīhadēvēn=edam (?) Śrī [Vaidya(?)nātha-charanam]  
 4 nityam pranamati

*Translation.*

“The great Queen the illustrious Gosalādēvi, the illustrious Mahārājñi Vijayasmīha,————by the illustrious Ajayasmīha salute daily the feet of this illustrious Vaidyanātha,

# INDEX

|                                         | PAGE |     |     |     |                                       | PAGE   |     |     |    |
|-----------------------------------------|------|-----|-----|-----|---------------------------------------|--------|-----|-----|----|
| Abhirapall                              | 23   | 113 | 129 |     | Arjuna Kachhwa king                   | 23     | 15  |     |    |
| Agastya                                 |      |     | 23  | 2   | Aruna                                 |        | 23  | 98  |    |
| Aghoraśiva                              | 23   | 112 | 114 | 115 | <i>Aśi a-cahasr ka Pray aparam ta</i> |        | 23  | 24  |    |
| Agri                                    |      | 23  | 5   | 93  | Atasa                                 | 23     | 20  | 21  |    |
| Ahvdapa la                              |      |     | 23  | 90  | Atreya gotra                          |        | 23  | 117 |    |
| Ahvam. hr                               |      |     | 23  | 24  | Atri                                  |        | 23  | 41  |    |
| <i>Aikhaia</i>                          |      |     | 23  | 86  | <i>Aulara</i>                         |        | 23  | 88  |    |
| <i>A g</i>                              |      |     | 23  | 80  | Avalladev                             |        | 23  | 20  |    |
| Ajatasatru                              |      |     | 23  | 1   | Avantavarmman                         |        |     | 23  | 1  |
| Ajaya mha                               | 23   | 29  | 14  | 9   | Avant                                 | 23     | 110 | 111 |    |
| Ajayagadh                               |      |     | 23  | 18  | Avantavarma                           |        | 23  | 110 |    |
| <i>Aj ta</i>                            |      |     | 23  | 80  | Avasathika Malhu                      |        | 23  | 23  |    |
| Al lava sha (Krishna II or <i>Subla</i> |      |     |     |     | B ham Cave No 1                       |        | 23  | 76  |    |
| <i>t yga</i> )                          |      | 23  | 3   | 0   | Bad ega                               |        | 23  | 10  |    |
| Alh ghat                                |      |     | 23  | 28  | Badgaon                               |        | 23  | 1   |    |
| Alhanadev                               | 23   | 14  | 17  | 20  | 27                                    | 23     | 67  | 69  |    |
|                                         |      |     |     | 0   | 115                                   |        |     |     |    |
| Amardaka-tartha                         |      |     | 23  | 110 | Barjnath                              | 23     | 31  | 33  | 46 |
| Amreśvara                               |      |     | 23  | 54  | Balaharsha                            |        |     | 23  | 8  |
| Amar autak                              | 23   | 31  | 34  | 48  | 54                                    | 61     | 63  | 64  |    |
|                                         |      |     | 10  | 109 | 137                                   |        |     |     |    |
| Amrapatan                               |      |     | 23  | 94  | Bah                                   |        | 23  | 159 |    |
| Amb ka                                  |      |     | 23  | 28  | Ballala II                            |        | 23  | 16  |    |
| <i>Ambipatala</i>                       |      |     | 23  | 113 | Banvasi                               |        | 23  | 16  |    |
| Anuma II                                |      |     | 23  | 5   | Bargaon                               |        | 23  | 67  |    |
| Ammanadeva                              |      |     | 23  | 2   | 0                                     | Basah  |     | 23  | 17 |
| Amoghavarsha I                          | 23   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6                                     | Dastar |     | 23  | 22 |
| Amogh varsha III                        |      |     | 23  | 9   | 0                                     | Deleva |     | 23  | 20 |
| <i>An alari</i>                         |      |     | 23  | 90  | Belgaum                               |        | 23  | 16  |    |
| Anah kapatala                           |      |     | 23  | 19  | Belvola                               |        | 23  | 10  | 16 |
| Ananta                                  |      |     | 23  | 137 | Benares                               | 23     | 115 | 12  |    |
| <i>Ananjanu</i>                         |      |     | 23  | 80  | Bhadrapur                             |        | 23  | 106 |    |
| Anga                                    |      |     | 23  | 10  | Bhadvachhu a                          | 23     | 113 | 129 |    |
| Antrala Puttala                         | 23   | 26  | 115 |     | <i>Bl agavan n udra</i>               |        | 23  | 136 |    |
| Antarvedi                               |      |     | 23  | 26  | Bhagratha                             |        | 23  | 122 |    |
| Arghat rtha                             |      |     | 23  | 23  | Bha rava                              |        | 23  | 38  |    |
| Arjuna                                  | 23   | 1   | 108 |     | Bhakam tra                            |        | 23  | 12  |    |
| Arjuna Ched pr nee                      | 23   | 0   | 9   |     | Bhamarsen                             |        | 23  | 114 |    |
|                                         |      |     |     |     | Bhrad aja Gotra                       |        | 23  | 12  |    |

## Page

|                                     |                               |       |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|
| Bharant                             | 23                            | 28    |
| Bhatja kalankadeva                  | 23                            | 10    |
| Bhavabrahman                        | 23                            | 97    |
| Bhe a ghat                          | 23 17 20 27 31 67 69 70 78 91 | 115   |
| Bh lamala                           | 23                            | 4     |
| Bhuma                               | 23                            | 18    |
| Bhuma I                             | 23 19 20 25                   |       |
| Bh masena                           | 23                            | 1     |
| Bh mesvara                          | 23                            | 26    |
| Bhrupur                             | 23                            | 31    |
| Bhushma                             | 23                            | 139   |
| <i>Bi shan</i>                      | 23                            | 80    |
| Bhoja I                             | 23                            | 4     |
| Bhoja (Pratihara King of Kanauj) II | 23 2 3 4                      |       |
| Bhojadeva                           | 23                            | 2     |
| Bhojavarmadeva                      | 23                            | 20    |
| Bhonslas of Nagpur                  | 23                            | 58    |
| <i>Bi narsavla</i>                  | 23                            | 114   |
| Bhumra                              | 23                            | 56 7  |
| Bhuta ya (Butuga II)                | 23                            | 11    |
| Bhu nesvara                         | 23                            | 61 73 |
| Bilhana                             | 23                            | 24 25 |
| Bihar                               | 23 31 41 46 61 110 113 114    |       |
| Ronthadevi                          | 23                            | 13    |
| Pralma                              | 23 50 52 53 75 6 108          |       |
| Brahman a                           | 23 11 139 140                 |       |
| <i>B el an</i>                      | 23                            | 80    |
| Brhaspati                           | 23                            | 64 75 |
| Budha                               | 23                            | 61 5  |
| B d ha                              | 23 96 99 107 109 140          |       |
| B uga II (Bhutarya)                 | 23 10 11                      |       |
| Chakrakotta (Chakrakotya)           | 23                            | 12    |
| Chakarvarman                        | 23                            | 10    |
| Chalul'ya bhuma II                  | 23                            | 5     |
| Chapar nya                          | 23                            | 2     |
| Chamin                              | 23 53 62 64 81 10             |       |
| Chandap ha                          | 23                            | 23    |
| Ch dellas                           | 23 3 18 2                     |       |
| Ch d lla Harshadeva                 | 23 3 4                        |       |
| Chandel temples                     | 23                            | 60    |
| Ch a h                              | 23                            | 120   |
| Ch a d l                            | 23                            | 80    |
| Chandra leva                        | 23 1 25                       |       |
| Chandra mha                         | 23 134 138                    |       |
| Chandreke                           | 23 31 32 34 35 36 41 42 45    |       |
|                                     | 46 110 112 113 114 115 117    |       |

## Page

|                                          |                               |         |
|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------|
| Chaturbhi ja                             | 23 29 45                      |         |
| Chaunsat-Yogins                          | 23                            | 0       |
| <i>Ched i d rat</i>                      | 23                            | 134     |
| Chedi                                    | 23 4 14 31 46 111 113 114 132 | 138     |
| Chedi country                            | 23 4 31 110 116               |         |
| Chedi dynasty                            | 23                            | 42 113  |
| Chedi (or Haihaya) kings                 | 23 2 41 67 107                |         |
| Ch d kingdom                             | 23                            | 45      |
| Chedi type of Medieval temples           | 23                            | 45      |
| <i>Chhatt a Sur varo</i>                 | 23                            | 86      |
| Chhidauda                                | 23                            | 30      |
| Chhoti Deori                             | 23                            | 31 7    |
| Chitragupta                              | 23                            | 135 139 |
| Chitrakuta                               | 23 2 3 4                      |         |
| Chola                                    | 23                            | 20 115  |
| Chorakay                                 | 23                            | 29      |
| Chudasava                                | 23 111 112 113 114 126        |         |
| Dalala                                   | 23 2 10 21 24 27 31 44 46 62  | 72 110  |
| Dahal land                               | 23                            | 22      |
| <i>Dak</i>                               | 23                            | 81      |
| Dalla                                    | 23 13 141                     |         |
| Damoda a                                 | 23                            | 122     |
| <i>Da ppalar</i>                         | 23                            | 81      |
| Dasakamha                                | 23                            | 2       |
| <i>Dasa l ka Vatsaraja</i>               | 23                            | 29      |
| Dasaratha                                | 23                            | 138     |
| Deccan Brahmins                          | 23                            | 54      |
| <i>D da</i>                              | 23                            | 82      |
| Deoguna                                  | 23                            | 50      |
| Deol                                     | 23                            | 11      |
| D o talao                                | 23 31 71 108                  |         |
| D a a                                    | 23                            | 102     |
| Dev natia                                | 23                            | 21      |
| D vajala                                 | 23                            | 13      |
| D v                                      | 23                            | 100     |
| <i>Dvadi d n</i>                         | 23                            | 80      |
| Dhamona                                  | 23                            | 83      |
| Dhangad a                                | 23                            | 5       |
| Dhari                                    | 23                            | 22      |
| <i>Dha a chakra i udra</i>               | 23                            | 62      |
| <i>Dha a chalia pravartana-nalavilar</i> | 23                            | 24      |
| Dharmajala                               | 23                            | 9       |
| Dharmasambh n                            | 23                            | 111     |
| Dhimara                                  | 23                            | 114     |
| Dhruvaraja I                             | 23                            | 6       |

|                            | PAGE                                             |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| Dhruva II                  | 23 6                                             |
| Dhruvndhar                 | 23 70 91                                         |
| D pankara-Srinjana         | 23 90                                            |
| D vakara                   | 23 137 141                                       |
| Draksharamam               | 23 26                                            |
| Dudha                      | 23 103                                           |
| Durga                      | 23, 42 43 52 76 91 94                            |
| Dvamsata                   | 23 122                                           |
| <i>Dayasraya Katyā</i>     | 23 19                                            |
| Eastern Chalukyas          | 23 5 6                                           |
| <i>Er d</i>                | 23 89                                            |
| Gadhe or Fort              | 23 100                                           |
| Gah dā rala                | 23 12 17 26 29                                   |
| <i>Gala</i>                | 23 83                                            |
| <i>Gaya Lalst m</i>        | 23 53                                            |
| Gelhana                    | 23 137 141                                       |
| Canapati                   | 23 49 114 103                                    |
| Gand                       | 23 14 15                                         |
| Ga d h                     | 23 12                                            |
| <i>Ga d lare</i>           | 23 82                                            |
| Gandharvas                 | 23 63 76 99 100 104 106<br>109 121               |
| Ganapati                   | 23 115                                           |
| Ganeśa                     | 23 38 49 50 53 62 64 74 85 86<br>91 93 94 95 108 |
| Ganeśani                   | 23 85                                            |
| Ganga country              | 23 5                                             |
| Ganges                     | 23 38 52 61 63 100 115                           |
| Gangayadeva                | 23 14 19 113                                     |
| Garga                      | 23 135 139                                       |
| Garraghati                 | 23 70 91                                         |
| Garrda                     | 23 64 91 97 100 106 109                          |
| Gauḍa                      | 23, 9 20 21 115                                  |
| <i>Gaudadhwa</i>           | 23 16                                            |
| Gaur Sankara               | 23 31 67 68 69                                   |
| Gayadhara                  | 23 29                                            |
| Gayakarna                  | 23 17 20 25 26 28 29 30 67<br>134 138            |
| <i>Giantat</i>             | 23 80                                            |
| Giazni                     | 23 16                                            |
| Goblula                    | 23 28                                            |
| Godavar                    | 23 26                                            |
| Gokula                     | 23 98 101 102 103                                |
| Gelhana                    | 23 107                                           |
| Gopala general             | 23 19 25                                         |
| Gopala II (king of Bengal) | 23 9 12                                          |
| Gosaladev                  | 23 29 69 142                                     |

|                                  | PAGE                                                               |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Govardhana (hill)                | 23 102 103                                                         |
| Govindachandra (Gabaḍavala king) | 23 17 26<br>28 115                                                 |
| Govindamba                       | 23 2                                                               |
| Gov ndaraja IV                   | 23 1 2 5 6 9 10                                                    |
| Guhilas of Medapata              | 23 28                                                              |
| Guna                             | 23 110                                                             |
| Gunaka                           | 23 5                                                               |
| Guptas                           | 23 1 8                                                             |
| Gurguj mound                     | 23 44 45 72 76 113 114                                             |
| Gurga                            | 23 9 11 31 32 34 35 36 41 42<br>43 44 72 76 98 110 113 114 115 122 |
| Gurg nscript on                  | 23 42 7 8 113                                                      |
| Gurg temple                      | 23 46                                                              |
| Gurjara                          | 23 11 20                                                           |
| Gurjara empire                   | 23 4                                                               |
| Gurjara-Pratihara                | 23 4 16 20                                                         |
| Gwalior State                    | 23 40 110                                                          |
| Ha hayas                         | 23 2 4 65 92 115                                                   |
| Haahayas of Ratnapura            | 23 22 2                                                            |
| Haal iyas of Tripur              | 23 31 110                                                          |
| <i>Han si</i>                    | 23 84                                                              |
| Hangal                           | 23 16                                                              |
| Hanapala                         | 23 28                                                              |
| Hani mat                         | 23 139                                                             |
| Hara                             | 23 139                                                             |
| Hari                             | 23 139                                                             |
| Harihara                         | 23 107                                                             |
| Harismha                         | 23 135 140                                                         |
| Harshadeva (Chandella king)      | 23 3 4                                                             |
| <i>Hus n</i>                     | 23 84                                                              |
| Hebbal                           | 23 10                                                              |
| Hemachandra                      | 23 19                                                              |
| H madri                          | 23 122                                                             |
| Himalaya                         | 23 72 75                                                           |
| Humavat                          | 23 2                                                               |
| Hiranyakaśipu                    | 23 78                                                              |
| Hridayas va                      | 23 46 61 111 114                                                   |
| Hridayeśa                        | 23 114                                                             |
| Hush keśa                        | 23 131 133                                                         |
| Huna                             | 23 14 1 20                                                         |
| Ide u                            | 23, 5                                                              |
| Indra (god)                      | 23 1 2 138 139                                                     |
| Indra (or Indraraja) III         | 23 1 2 9 10                                                        |
| <i>Indrayat</i>                  | 23 83                                                              |
| Indraratha (king)                | 23 18                                                              |
| Isana                            | 23 128 140                                                         |

|                                      | PAGE |     |     |               |                               | PAGE |     |       |                         |
|--------------------------------------|------|-----|-----|---------------|-------------------------------|------|-----|-------|-------------------------|
| Iśvara                               |      |     |     | 23 42         | Kalya                         |      |     |       | 23 98 102               |
| Iśvarasiva                           | 23   | 111 | 113 | 114           | Kalka                         |      |     | 23    | 96 109                  |
| Iśvar                                |      |     |     | 23 83         | Kalyani                       |      |     |       | 23 24                   |
| Jabur (temple)                       |      |     |     | 23 50         | Kama                          | 23   | 2   | 121   | 139 141                 |
| Jagadamba                            |      |     |     | 23 45         | Kamada                        |      |     |       | 23, 90                  |
| Jagatsimha                           | 23   | 155 | 140 |               | Kamakandala                   |      |     |       | 23 66                   |
| Jagattunga                           | 23   | 1   | 2   | 3             | Kamalatmika                   |      |     |       | 23 53                   |
| Jaha                                 |      |     |     | 23, 80        | Kamsa                         | 23,  | 98  | 101   | 102                     |
| Jaharu                               |      |     |     | 23 81         | Kanauj                        |      |     | 23    | 4 10                    |
| Jain group at Khajuraho              |      |     |     | 23 50         | Kandanya Mahadeva             |      |     |       | 23 40                   |
| Jaina remains                        |      |     |     | 23 100        | Kangra                        |      |     |       | 23 20                   |
| Jajalladeva I                        |      |     | 23  | 8 27          | Kangra Valley                 |      |     |       | 23 16                   |
| Jama                                 |      |     |     | 23, 88        | Kannaradeva                   |      |     |       | 23 10                   |
| Jaso                                 |      |     |     | 23 56         | Kanyakubja                    |      |     |       | 23 22                   |
| Jata                                 | 23   | 134 | 138 |               | Kapardi                       |      |     |       | 23 114                  |
| Jatavarman                           |      |     | 23  | 20 95         | Kapondika                     |      |     |       | 23 129                  |
| Jayasimha (Chedi or Harhaya king)    | 23   | 13  | 14  |               | Karanbel                      | 23,  | 14  | 29    | 48 57 65 66 69          |
|                                      | 17   | 20  | 28  | 29 31 67 69   | Karanda                       |      |     |       | 23 115                  |
| Jayasimha II (western Chalukya king) |      |     | 23  | 14            | Karan Mandir                  |      |     |       | 23 54                   |
| Jejaka bhukti                        |      |     | 23, | 15 27         | Karhad                        |      |     |       | 23 11                   |
| Jhag                                 |      |     |     | 23 82         | Karharai                      |      |     |       | 23 05                   |
| Jhans                                |      |     |     | 23 110        | Kartala                       |      |     | 23    | 11 13 72                |
| Jitadama                             |      |     |     | 23 94         | Karkaroni                     |      |     |       | 23 110                  |
| Jubbulpore                           | 23,  | 25  | 31  | 41 57 65 67 1 | Karkkaredi                    |      |     | 23    | 135 139                 |
|                                      | 77   | 106 | 107 | 110 171       | Karna (Chedi or Harhaya king) | 23   | 2   | 4 7 8 |                         |
| Jura                                 |      |     | 23  | 11 117        |                               | 10   | 17  | 30    | 31 41 44 54 56 58 59 65 |
| Jalesvara                            |      |     |     | 23 54         |                               | 67   | 68  | 92    | 131 133 134 137 138     |
| Kacchwaln                            |      |     |     | 23 15         | Kerata                        |      |     |       | 23 9 18                 |
| Kadambagaha                          | 23   | 111 | 113 |               | Karnapur                      |      |     |       | 23 65                   |
| Kadambog h-adhivas n                 |      |     |     | 23 110        | Karna's temple                |      |     |       | 23 48                   |
| Kadambari                            | 23   | 130 | 132 |               | Karnataka Sobdar ulasan a     |      |     |       | 23 10                   |
| Kahla plate                          |      |     |     | 23 12         | Kareddiaka                    |      |     | 23    | 113 129                 |
| Kailasa                              |      |     |     | 23 127        | Karttkeya                     | 23   | 42  | 73    | 91 92 108               |
| Kaimur Range                         |      |     |     | 23 63         |                               |      |     |       | 121 110                 |
| Kaura                                |      |     |     | 23 5          | Karttikeya's rahasa           |      |     |       | 23 74                   |
| Kulatya                              |      |     |     | 23 115        | Kashee or Benares             |      |     |       | 23 22                   |
| Kakaredi                             |      |     |     | 23 30         | Kethmandu                     |      |     |       | 23 16                   |
| Kakharaja II                         |      |     | 23  | 9 9           | Kausl a Got a                 |      |     |       | 23 22                   |
| Kalachans                            |      |     |     | 23 12         | Kavacha (field)               | 23   | 113 | 129   |                         |
| Kalachur Chandra                     |      |     |     | 23 14         | Kavachaśiva                   |      |     |       | 23 111                  |
| Kalachuri-Chedi                      | 23   | 63  | 107 | 109 110       | Kerala                        |      |     |       | 23 20                   |
| Kalachur Chedi year                  |      |     |     | 23 99         | Kesavadiya                    |      |     |       | 23 28                   |
| Kalachur Sodhadeva                   |      |     |     | 23 12         | Kesava narayana               |      |     | 23    | 60 103                  |
| Kalajara                             |      |     |     | 23 12         | Ketu                          |      |     | 23    | 64 107                  |
| Kali                                 |      |     |     | 23 70 95      | Kevuravarsha                  |      |     |       | 23 9 113                |
| Kaliga                               | 23   | 9   | 17  | 20 94         | Khajuraho                     | 23   | 33  | 34    | 40 57 64                |
| Kalagaraja                           |      |     |     | 33 8          | Khajuraho temples             | 23   | 37  | 47    | 48 53                   |

|                                              | PAGE                  |                                       | PAGE                           |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Khamarka                                     | 23 122                | Kusnan period                         | 23 51                          |
| Khamdagaha                                   | 23 99                 | Kuvera                                | 23 2 101                       |
| Khandesh                                     | 23 56                 | Kuyisavapahsa                         | 23 50                          |
| Kharepatan                                   | 23 110                | Lakshmadeva (Paramara king)           | 23 25                          |
| Khasas                                       | 23 9                  | Lakshmanaraja (Chedi or Harhaya king) | 23 7                           |
| Khe aly                                      | 23 88                 | 11 12 31 36 42 61 112 114             |                                |
| Kher Mai                                     | 23 92 93              | Lakshmanasagara                       | 23 40                          |
| Khetala                                      | 23 5                  | Lakshmi 23 1 2 3 18 19 91 99 127      |                                |
| Khoh                                         | 23 94                 | Lakshmidhara                          | 23 122 136 141                 |
| Kra                                          | 23 15 16 17 20        | Lakshmi karnas                        | 23 16                          |
| Kiranapala                                   | 23 5                  | Lakshmi narayana                      | 23 84                          |
| Kirtismula                                   | 23 134 138            | Lakulsa                               | 23 62 64                       |
| Kirtt arman                                  | 23 18 19 25 26 99 30  | Lahahad                               | 23 28 109                      |
| Ks kad                                       | 23 10 16              | Lata                                  | 23 82                          |
| Kokkalla I                                   | 23 1 2 3 4 5 8 31     | Lan a                                 | 23 139                         |
| Kokkalla II                                  | 23 41 42 113 129      | Lata                                  | 23 9 16 18 28                  |
|                                              | 120 131               | Machchhendranatha                     | 23, 54 60                      |
| Konarka                                      | 23 108                | Madanaverman                          | 23 2                           |
| Kongulesa                                    | 23 20                 | Madisara                              | 23 129                         |
| Kosala                                       | 23 8 138              | Madhava                               | 23 129                         |
| Kosala Mandala                               | 23 8                  | Madh un atera                         | 23 111                         |
| Kosamba pattala                              | 23 23                 | — Pavanaśiva                          | 23 111                         |
| Krishna                                      | 23 98 101 102 103 141 | Madh umathana                         | 23 19                          |
| Krishna or Krishnaraja II (Rashtrakuta king) | 23 1 2 3 4 5 6        | Madh mat                              | 23 112 113 114 120 126         |
| Krishna or Krishnaraja III (Kanna radeva)    | 23 10 11              | Magha                                 | 23 121                         |
| Krishnadvarika temple                        | 23 21                 | Magadha                               | 23 12                          |
| Krishnamura                                  | 23 19                 | Maha                                  | 23 22                          |
| Krishnavallabha (Krishna II)                 | 23 3 8                | Mahadeva                              | 23 42 108                      |
| Krishna                                      | 23 110                | Mahaditya                             | 23 29                          |
| Kshatradharman                               | 23 9                  | Mahadodala                            | 23 8                           |
| Kshatrapaladeva of Kanauj                    | 23 3                  | Maharajaka Kirtivarman                | 23 28 29                       |
| Kukda                                        | 23 27                 | Mahendrapala                          | 23 1 10                        |
| Kukdesvar                                    | 23 56                 | Mahesvara                             | 23 127                         |
| Kukrudya                                     | 23 113 129            | Mahesvar                              | 23 84 131 133                  |
| Kulottunga Chohadeva I                       | 23 16 22 25           | Mahapala I (Pratihara king)           | 23 4 13                        |
| Kumarapala                                   | 23 30                 | — II (Pratihara king)                 | 23 13                          |
| Kumbhi plates                                | 23 29 115             | Mahshamarddin                         | 23 87                          |
| Kundakadevi                                  | 23 9                  | Mahmud                                | 23 14 16                       |
| Kund                                         | 23 16                 | Mahoba                                | 23 17 33 55                    |
| Kunga                                        | 23 17 20              | Mahodaya                              | 23 10 20                       |
| — country                                    | 23 20                 | Mahur                                 | 23 11 31 33 63 71 77 94 95 106 |
| Kuntala                                      | 23 16 16 42 129       |                                       | 107 117                        |
| Kurua                                        | 23 96 99              | Makara                                | 23 38 99 100                   |
| Kurus                                        | 23 9                  | Makarba                               | 23 50                          |
| Kusasthala                                   | 23 10                 | Makarapataka                          | 23 28 115                      |
|                                              |                       | Malava                                | 23 9 11 32 27 113 114 116      |
|                                              |                       | Malaya                                | 23 8 139                       |

|                              | PAGE                        |                         | PAGE                    |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Malaya simha                 | 23 135 141                  | Mal                     | 23 80                   |
| Malaya-simha                 | 23 30 133 134 13 138 139    | Namaund                 | 23 28 115               |
|                              | 140 141                     | Nanda                   | 23 101                  |
| Mallhad                      | 23 5                        | Nand Chand              | 23 31                   |
| Malwa                        | 23 56                       | Nandigana               | 23 45                   |
| Mamaf                        | 23 24                       | Nandin                  | 23 91 121               |
| Ma dodar                     | 23 89                       | Nandini                 | 23 89                   |
| Mangala                      | 23 61 10                    | Nanneśvara              | 23 113 129              |
| Mangi                        | 23 5                        | Narada                  | 23 101                  |
| Man griva                    | 23 101                      | Narasimha               | 23 78 96 99             |
| Man vohosha                  | 23 137                      | — (Chalukya chief)      | 23 10                   |
| Manora                       | 23 106                      | Narasimbadeva           | 23 27 28 29 31 67 109   |
| Manyakheta                   | 23 5                        | Nurayana                | 23 22 99 108            |
| Mara                         | 23 31 63 64 94              | Nuriya apala            | 23 9                    |
|                              | 95 107                      | Narmada                 | 23 28 29 54 60 67 72 10 |
| Marava                       | 23 14                       |                         | 134 137                 |
| Marble rocks                 | 23 65                       | Narmada Mata            | 23 108                  |
| Masan or Masann              | 23 44 45                    | Narod                   | 23 110                  |
| Masa (?) varddha             | 23 86                       | Narvar                  | 23 110                  |
| Mathura                      | 23 51 101 102               | Nattadevi               | 23 2 7                  |
| Matikas                      | 23 62 63 64 74              | Nauhaleśvara            | 23 110 114              |
| Matsya                       | 23 96                       | Nayanaval               | 23 131 133              |
| — P r u a                    | 23 54                       | Nayapala                | 23 91                   |
| Mattamay ra                  | 23 32 42 44 45 110 111      | Nalada nara             | 23 87                   |
|                              | 112 113 120 123             | Nalgund                 | 23 14                   |
| Mat a a ra alha              | 23 111                      | Nalakantha              | 23 122                  |
| Mru                          | 23 27                       | Nim natha               | 23 106                  |
| Me laka                      | 23 122                      | Nipomiya                | 23 113                  |
| Merut va                     | 23 19                       | Nohala                  | 23 11 46 113            |
| Meta plates                  | 23 14                       | Odra                    | 23 12                   |
| M el la                      | 23 9                        | Or esa                  | 23 108                  |
| Monastery at Chandrehe       | 23 112                      | Pod aha nsa             | 23 84                   |
| — of Nauhaleśvara            | 23 46                       | Podrusambe              | 23 30 134 138           |
| — of Va dyanatha             | 23 16                       | Paganavaram             | 23 5                    |
| Moon                         | 23 5 139                    | Palas                   | 23 9 21                 |
| Mo nt Ka asa                 | 23 72                       | Pali                    | 23 8                    |
| Mughatunga (Pras ddhadhaval) | 23 2 7 8 113                | Pamdav                  | 23 87                   |
| Mu njala                     | 23 130                      | Pa d a Śrī Śāntīkarmāna | 23 23                   |
| M rala                       | 23 17 20                    | Pandya                  | 23 12 1 20              |
| M rvara                      | 23 31                       | Panjab                  | 23 20                   |
| Naga                         | 23 38 62 99 100 103 104 105 | Panna                   | 23 30 31 1              |
|                              | 106 140                     | Parakesarivarman        | 23 21                   |
| A ga Ananta Sesha            | 23 93                       | Pa am ras               | 23 27                   |
| — l alha                     | 23 12                       | Paramara dynasty        | 23 13                   |
| Agabhāṭṭa II                 | 23 4                        | Paraśurama              | 23 96 98 100 101        |
| Narod                        | 23 31 66 71 94              | Pativrjyaka chiefs      | 23 1                    |
| Nala Kuvera                  | 23 101                      | Parśvanatha             | 23 100                  |

|                             | PAGE                                                    |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Parvati                     | 23 9 43 50 54 73 76<br>91 93 108                        |
| Paśupata                    | 23 27 115                                               |
| Patalesvara                 | 23 60                                                   |
| Patpara pathar              | 23 47                                                   |
| Pa n vanja                  | 23 99                                                   |
| Pavanaś va                  | 23 113                                                  |
| Perm nadi Butayya           | 23 10                                                   |
| <i>Pla en dr</i>            | 23 79                                                   |
| Pavan                       | 23 14 17                                                |
| <i>P hd t wana</i>          | 23 130 132                                              |
| <i>P gal</i>                | 23 86                                                   |
| Pita śila                   | 23 132                                                  |
| <i>P aba dī a Ū u tamam</i> | 23 19                                                   |
| Pr bhavaśva                 | 23 44 112 113 120 126                                   |
| <i>P abhachandrodaya</i>    | 23 19                                                   |
| P abodhaś va                | 23 9 32 36 38 41 42 43 78<br>112 113 115 117 121 22 128 |
| Prisantaś va                | 23 42 77 112 114 115 120<br>121 122 126 127             |
| Pras ddhadhaval             | 23 7 8                                                  |
| Pravara                     | 23 131 133                                              |
| Prayaga                     | 23 15                                                   |
| Pretas                      | 23 86 90                                                |
| Pr thv                      | 23 99                                                   |
| Panthvideya II of Ratnapura | 23 27                                                   |
| <i>P gupāla</i>             | 23 114                                                  |
| P lgere                     | 23 10 16                                                |
| Pund ka                     | 23 129                                                  |
| Purandara                   | 23 110 111 112 113 120                                  |
| P ru hottama                | 23 18 29 136 137 141                                    |
| Purvagrama                  | 23 115                                                  |
| Rachamalla I                | 23 11                                                   |
| Radhā                       | 23 110                                                  |
| Raghava                     | 23 121                                                  |
| Rahadā                      | 23 12                                                   |
| Rah la                      | 23 3                                                    |
| Rah                         | 23 64 75 107                                            |
| Rajatarangin                | 23 10                                                   |
| Rajendracholla I            | 23 18 22                                                |
| — II                        | 23 26                                                   |
| Rajendradeva                | 23 21                                                   |
| Rijyanchchika               | 23 113 129                                              |
| Rajy pala                   | 23 9 12 14                                              |
| Rama                        | 23 96 138 139                                           |
| Ramayana                    | 23 16                                                   |
| Ramachandra                 | 23 96 99 109 136 141                                    |

|                               | PAGE                              |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ramacharita                   | 23 21                             |
| Rama devalaya                 | 23 135                            |
| <i>Ra ay ra</i>               | 123 90                            |
| <i>Ra ala Chehhuhula</i>      | 23 28                             |
| — Vatsaraja                   | 23 29                             |
| Ranas mha                     | 23 135 139                        |
| Ranavigraha                   | 23 1                              |
| <i>Ra g n</i>                 | 23 81                             |
| Ran padra (see Ranod)         | 23, 110 111                       |
| Ranod (see Narod)             | 23 110 112 113                    |
| <i>Rasavāślas</i>             | 23 114                            |
| Rashtrakuta                   | 23 2 3 4 5                        |
| Rasht al-uta Amoghavarsha III | 23 5                              |
| — race                        | 23 107                            |
| Rashtrakutas of Gujarat       | 23 5                              |
| Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta    | 23 1 2 4                          |
| Rasmala                       | 23 23                             |
| Ratnagiri                     | 23 110                            |
| Ratnakara                     | 23 137 141                        |
| Ratnapura                     | 23 108                            |
| Rattas                        | 23 5                              |
| Rattaraja                     | 23 110                            |
| <i>Ra a Vallaladeva</i>       | 23 28                             |
| Reh ta                        | 23 41 15 112                      |
| Reva                          | 23 25                             |
| Revakanurmagi                 | 23 10                             |
| Revanta                       | 23 106                            |
| Re a                          | 23 28 30 32 46 71 72 95<br>99 117 |
| — inscription                 | 23 130 133                        |
| — State                       | 23 31 35 48 92 94 110             |
| — town                        | 23 41                             |
| <i>R Hald</i>                 | 23 86                             |
| R thv                         | 23 31                             |
| <i>Rutshan ada</i>            | 23 82                             |
| Rudradevi                     | 23 116                            |
| Rudras                        | 23 94                             |
| R drasambhu                   | 23 111                            |
| Rudraś va                     | 23 26 28 12                       |
| Śabdaś va                     | 23 113                            |
| Sadaś va                      | 23 111                            |
| Sahasr ruṇa                   | 23 1 2                            |
| Sa ddhant las                 | 23 126                            |
| Sarva abbote                  | 23 42                             |
| — ascetics                    | 23 14 45                          |
| — monastery at Chandrehe      | 23 119                            |
| Samantas                      | 23 22                             |

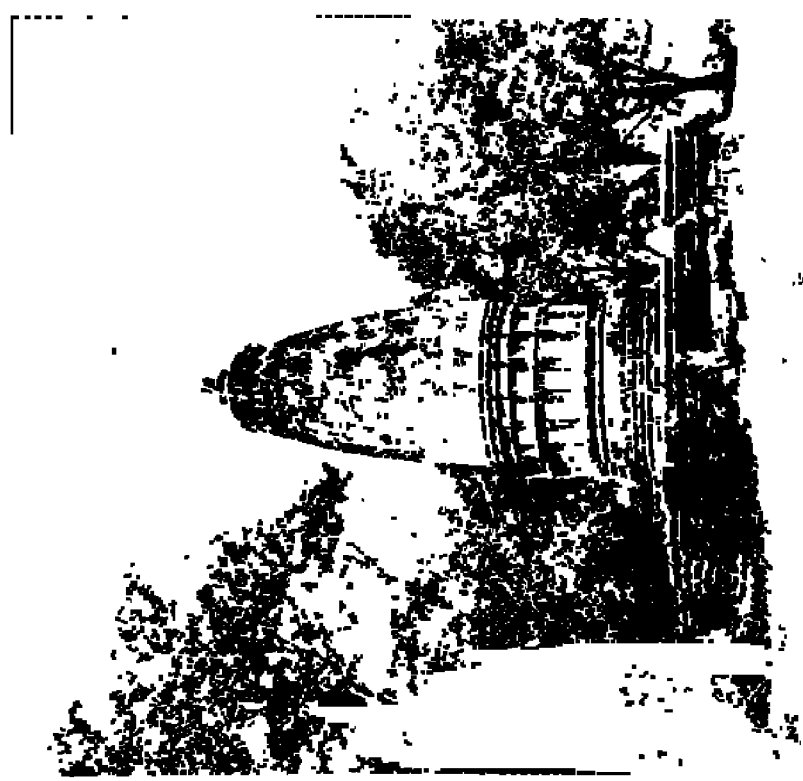


|                                         | PAGE                                                                                                               |                                            | PAGE               |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Samanta patañga</i>                  | 23 113 198                                                                                                         | <i>Soma Yagna</i>                          | 23 140             |
| <i>Sambhuvardhana</i>                   | 23 10                                                                                                              | <i>Someśvara (śiva)</i>                    | 23 12              |
| <i>Samāsa pāṭhala</i>                   | 23 29                                                                                                              | — I                                        | 23 24              |
| <i>Sandhyakaranandin</i>                | 23 21                                                                                                              | — II                                       | 23 25              |
| <i>Sankara</i>                          | 23 190 128                                                                                                         | <i>Śona</i>                                | 23, 54 114 120 127 |
| <i>Sankaragana</i>                      | 23 2 3 4 12 31 42 72                                                                                               | <i>Śonabhadra</i>                          | 23 60              |
| <i>Śa khamaṭhā l-adīyapāṭh</i>          | 23 110                                                                                                             | <i>Southern Kōśala</i>                     | 23 8               |
| <i>Sa aksamāhyabana</i>                 | 23 141                                                                                                             | <i>Śr dhara</i>                            | 23 136 141         |
| <i>Sarisaḍollaka</i>                    | 23 113 129                                                                                                         | <i>Śrī V tsa</i>                           | 23 130 132         |
| <i>Sa as atī</i>                        | 23 38 39 42 52 53 5 98<br>113 114 129                                                                              | <i>S dī</i>                                | 23 10              |
| <i>Sarvatomaṭh</i>                      | 23 89                                                                                                              | <i>Śukra</i>                               | 23 64 75           |
| <i>Śasana-devi</i>                      | 23 100                                                                                                             | <i>Ś ilaka Rashtrakūṭas</i>                | 23 6               |
| <i>Sata u a vara</i>                    | 23 80                                                                                                              | <i>Suma u</i>                              | 23 127             |
| <i>Saturn</i>                           | 23 64 5                                                                                                            | <i>Sun</i>                                 | 23, 75 108 121     |
| <i>Satyavakya Komgunvarman</i>          | 23 11                                                                                                              | <i>S mī</i>                                | 23 114             |
| <i>Sellakshna arman</i>                 | 23 26 30                                                                                                           | <i>Suparsvanatha</i>                       | 23 110             |
| <i>Śesha (Aḍga king)</i>                | 23 135                                                                                                             | <i>Sura arman I</i>                        | 23 10              |
| <i>Ś shasayin</i>                       | 23 94                                                                                                              | — II                                       | 23 10              |
| <i>Shadama</i>                          | 23, 114 127                                                                                                        | <i>Survaya</i>                             | 23 40              |
| <i>Śa d</i>                             | 23 8                                                                                                               | <i>Surya</i>                               | 23 91 93           |
| <i>Sh chadika</i>                       | 23 98                                                                                                              | <i>Suryanarayana</i>                       | 23 93 98           |
| <i>S ddhas</i>                          | 23 12                                                                                                              | <i>Sus</i>                                 | 23 22              |
| <i>Śil has va</i>                       | 23 112 113 120                                                                                                     | <i>Sutna</i>                               | 23 31              |
| <i>Ś l d tya</i>                        | 23 6                                                                                                               | <i>Śvetapada</i>                           | 23 12              |
| — III                                   | 23 6                                                                                                               | <i>Śvamaladev</i>                          | 23 28              |
| <i>Ś al ara</i>                         | 23 110                                                                                                             | <i>Taila II</i>                            | 23 13              |
| <i>Śidana</i>                           | 23 29                                                                                                              | <i>Tai apa II</i>                          | 23 14              |
| <i>Śil ra</i>                           | 23 110                                                                                                             | <i>Talar</i>                               | 23 54              |
| <i>Śil at</i>                           | 23 93                                                                                                              | <i>Talhana-dev</i>                         | 23 135 139         |
| <i>S ha S ha</i>                        | 23 90                                                                                                              | <i>Tacḍava</i>                             | 23 87 107 120      |
| <i>Sumra</i>                            | 23 31                                                                                                              | <i>Tantr c emblem of crossed triangles</i> | 23 38              |
| <i>Sindhu</i>                           | 23 122                                                                                                             | <i>Tapan</i>                               | 23 84              |
| <i>Singata Mal arajaputra Vatsaraja</i> | 23 29                                                                                                              | <i>Tarmma</i>                              | 23 130 132         |
| <i>Ś oḍ yas of Mewar</i>                | 23 98                                                                                                              | <i>Telangana</i>                           | 23 16              |
| <i>Ś va</i>                             | 23 32 38 42 43 44 46 48 52 54<br>62 63 64 75 76 91 93 94 107 108<br>114 115 120 121 122 126 127 131<br>132 133 139 | <i>Temple of the Barakar type</i>          | 23 65              |
| <i>Ś va ana</i>                         | 23 38 63 75 76 86 100 129                                                                                          | — of Bargaoṇ                               | 23 48              |
| <i>Soḍhad a</i>                         | 23 19                                                                                                              | — of Bhaurava                              | 23 1               |
| <i>Soḍhaś rman</i>                      | 23 29                                                                                                              | — of Bhurpur                               | 23 67              |
| <i>Soḍgpur</i>                          | 23 31 33 34 48 54 5 63<br>64 92 99 100                                                                             | — of Ganri Sankara                         | 23 91              |
| <i>Somanatha</i>                        | 23 12 1 113 129                                                                                                    | — of Kamakandala                           | 23 41 46 48        |
| — at Bargaoṇ                            | 23 107                                                                                                             | — of Ś va                                  | 23 7               |
| — at Deot lao                           | 23 66                                                                                                              | — of Somanatha                             | 23 67              |
| <i>Soma an a</i>                        | 23 8                                                                                                               | <i>Temples at Amarkanatak</i>              | 23 68              |
|                                         |                                                                                                                    | — of Chandrehe and Gurgi                   | 23 47              |
|                                         |                                                                                                                    | — at Khajuraha                             | 23 49 55           |
|                                         |                                                                                                                    | <i>Teramb pain</i>                         | 23 110             |
|                                         |                                                                                                                    | <i>Teramva</i>                             | 23 87              |

|                        | PAGE                                            |                                  | PAGE                                           |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| Tuwar                  | 23, 26, 27, 29 65 66 92                         | Vamadeva                         | 23 133                                         |
| Thakur                 | 23 79                                           | Varana                           | 23, 22 45 96 99                                |
| Thakur                 | 23, 82                                          | Van dhan                         | 23, 81                                         |
| Thakur dha             | 23, 88                                          | Vanavasa (see Banavās)           | 23, 42 129                                     |
| Tigowan                | 23, 72                                          | Vanga                            | 23, 17 20                                      |
| Tirabhadra             | 23, 16                                          | Vangala                          | 23 12                                          |
| Tirhut or Nepal        | 23, 16                                          | Vapala                           | 23, 130                                        |
| Tirthika lung of Kanya | 23, 21                                          | Vapuleśvara                      | 23 131 133                                     |
| Tiruvorriyur           | 23, 22                                          | Vapullaha                        | 23, 23 24 132                                  |
| Toggala                | 23 18                                           | Vapullahesvara                   | 23, 24                                         |
| Tons                   | 23, 28 31 72                                    | Varaha                           | 23 96 99 107                                   |
| Trailokyavarmman       | 23 30                                           | Varaha                           | 23, 53 62 74 89                                |
| Trayivardhana          | 23, 129                                         | Varuna                           | 23, 75                                         |
| Trisakūṭagadhipati     | 23, 16 20 24                                    | Vassthesharmman                  | 23, 26 115                                     |
| Trilochana             | 23, 24 29 130 133                               | Vasudeva                         | 23, 101 102 122                                |
| Trilochanapala         | 23 14                                           | Vatsajayana Kamasūtra            | 23 73                                          |
| Triputi                | 23, 3, 8, 10, 25, 27 29 31 65 92<br>114 114 137 | Vayu                             | 23 75                                          |
| Trisaurya              | 23, 8                                           | Vengi                            | 23, 5                                          |
| Tujumva                | 23, 113 129                                     | Vezr                             | 23, 23                                         |
| Turushkas              | 23 18                                           | Vibhutsa                         | 23, 89                                         |
| Udayadeva              | 23 18                                           | Vi lyadeva                       | 23 115                                         |
| Udayaditya             | 23 18 25 28                                     | Vidyadhara                       | 23, 14 15 18 136 141                           |
| Uddharana              | 23, 141                                         | Vigrahapala II                   | 23, 9 12                                       |
| Udipur                 | 23, 43                                          | — III                            | 23, 21 25                                      |
| Ujjayini               | 23, 10                                          | Vigraharaṇa                      | 23 130                                         |
| Uma                    | 23, 2, 42 77 114, 127, 131 133                  | Vijamba                          | 23 2                                           |
| Upadhyaya Silu         | 23, 23                                          | Vijayadeva                       | 23 30                                          |
| Upendrapura            | 23, 110                                         | Vijayaditya                      | 23 5                                           |
| Uṭṭala                 | 23, 15                                          | — III                            | 23 5 7                                         |
| Uṭṭal                  | 23 85                                           | — VI                             | 23, 5                                          |
| Vachaspati             | 23 134                                          | Vijayapala                       | 23, 3 19                                       |
| Vadyava                | 23 28                                           | Vijayashaba                      | 23, 28 29 30 67 69 115 134,<br>137 138 141 142 |
| Vaidyanatha            | 23, 61 63 69 112 114<br>115                     | Vijjala (name)                   | 23, 24 130 132                                 |
| Vairasimha             | 23 98                                           | — (Rasala)                       | 23 120 122                                     |
| Vairasimha             | 23, 75 80                                       | Vikramaditya                     | 23, 15 159                                     |
| Vijasaneya Sakha       | 23 22 23                                        | — IV                             | 23, 13                                         |
| Vajrapani              | 23 93 94                                        | — V                              | 23, 13                                         |
| Vajrasana              | 23, 21                                          | — VI                             | 23, 14                                         |
| Vakalollaka            | 23 113 129                                      | Vikraṇa anāchovita               | 23 24                                          |
| Vakatakas              | 23 1                                            | Vinayakapala                     | 23, 4                                          |
| Vakpati                | 23, 69                                          | Vinayarajendra Rajakesarivarmman | 23 21                                          |
| Vakrama                | 23 109                                          | Vikraṇa                          | 23, 20                                         |
| Vallama                | 23 136 141                                      | Viratēśvara Śiva                 | 23, 48                                         |
| Vallabha               | 23 3 3 5                                        | Vinavarmman                      | 23, 18                                         |
| Vallabhadeva           | 23 109                                          | Virendra                         | 23, 79                                         |
|                        |                                                 | Viral'ya                         | 23, 131 133                                    |



RAHAYAS OF TULURI AND THEFT MONUMENTS



(a) BACK



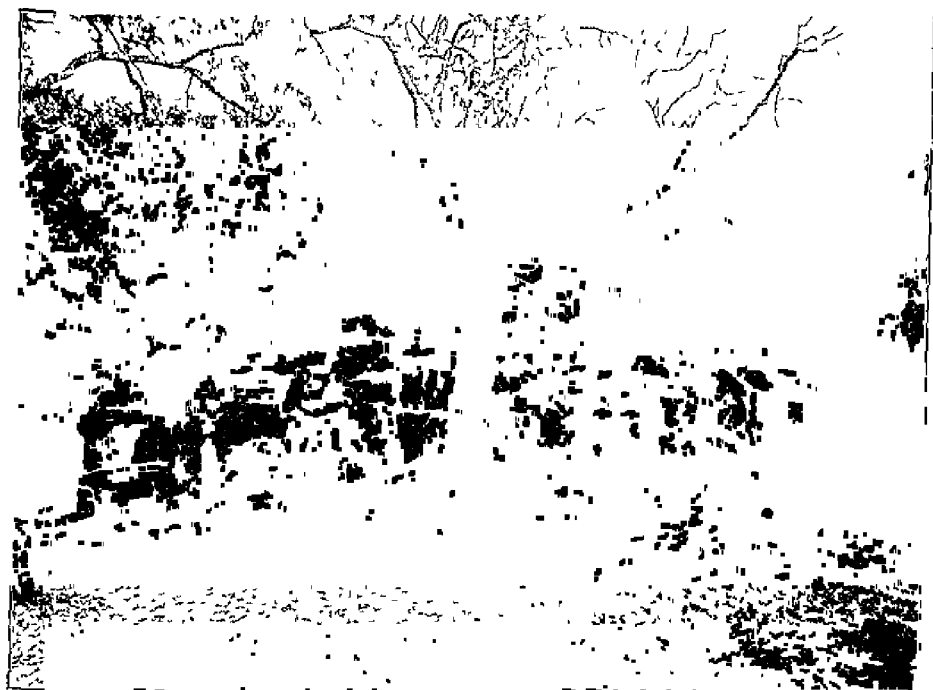
(b) FRONT

TEMPLE OF SHIVA AT CHANDUR





(a) FRONT



(b) SIDE

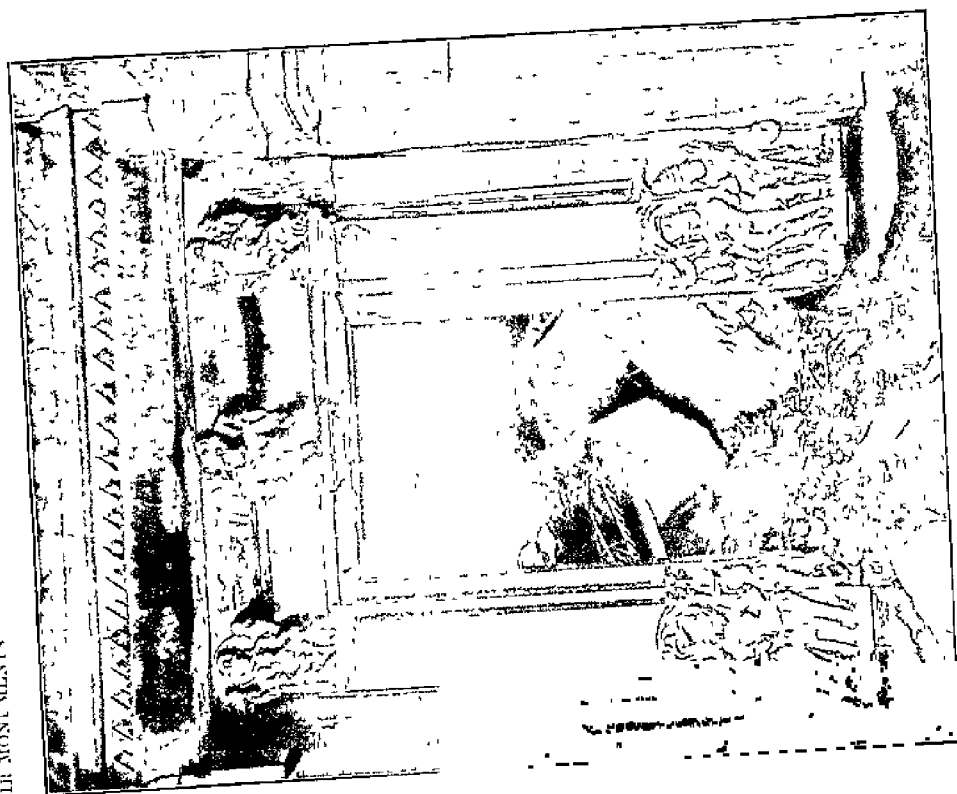
SAIVA MONASTERY AT CHANDRERI



HALLWAYS OF IRULURI AND THEIR MONUMENTS



(a)

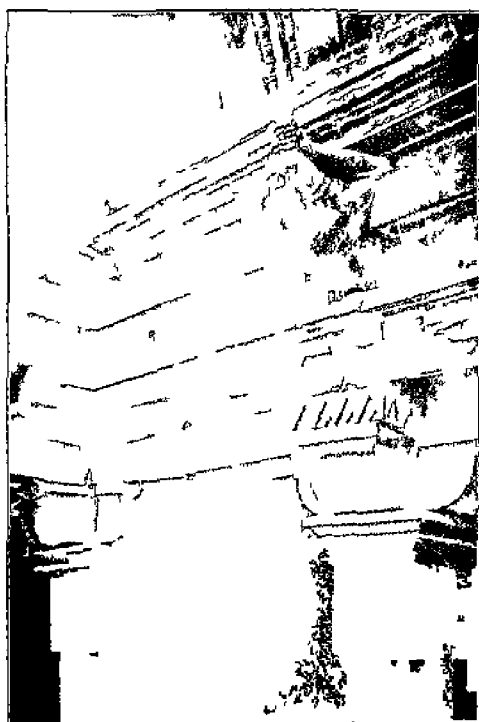


(b)

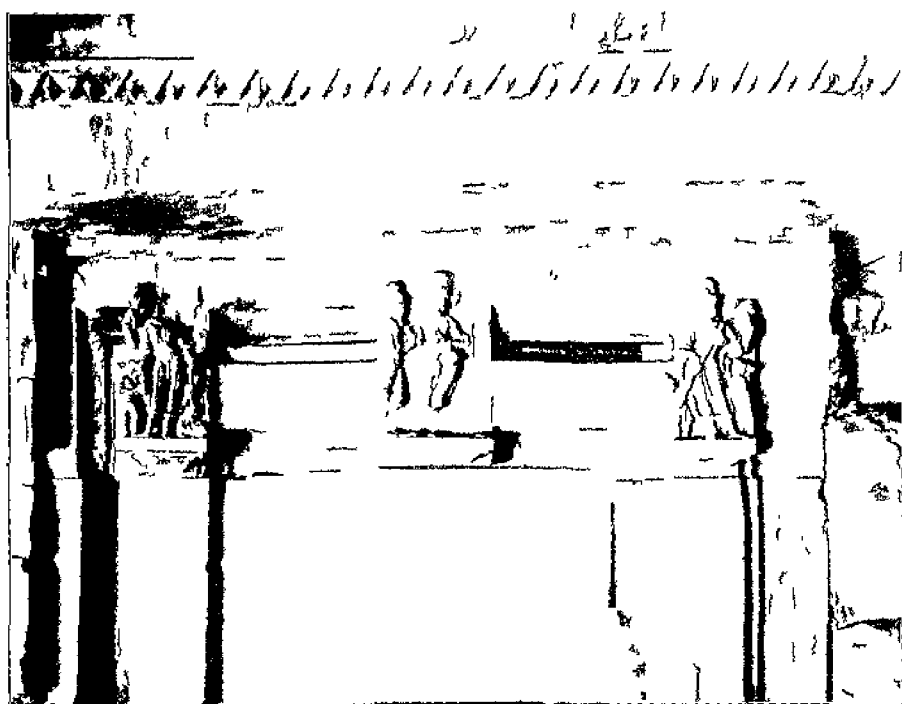
NARAYANA MONASTERY AT CHANDRABALLI, DOORWAYS OF MONASTERY





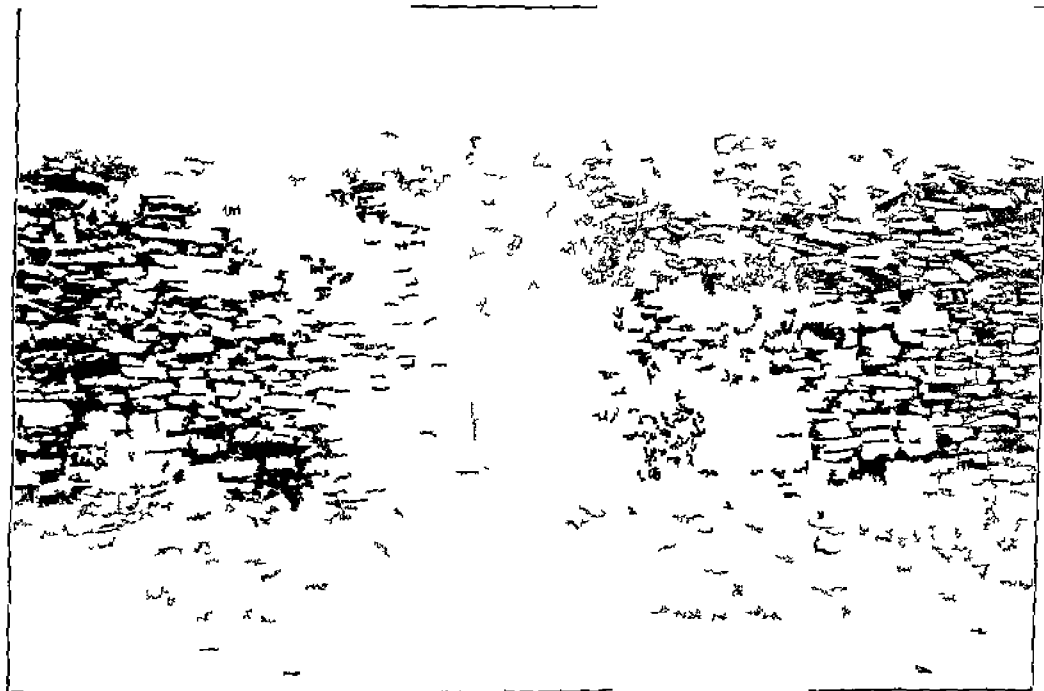


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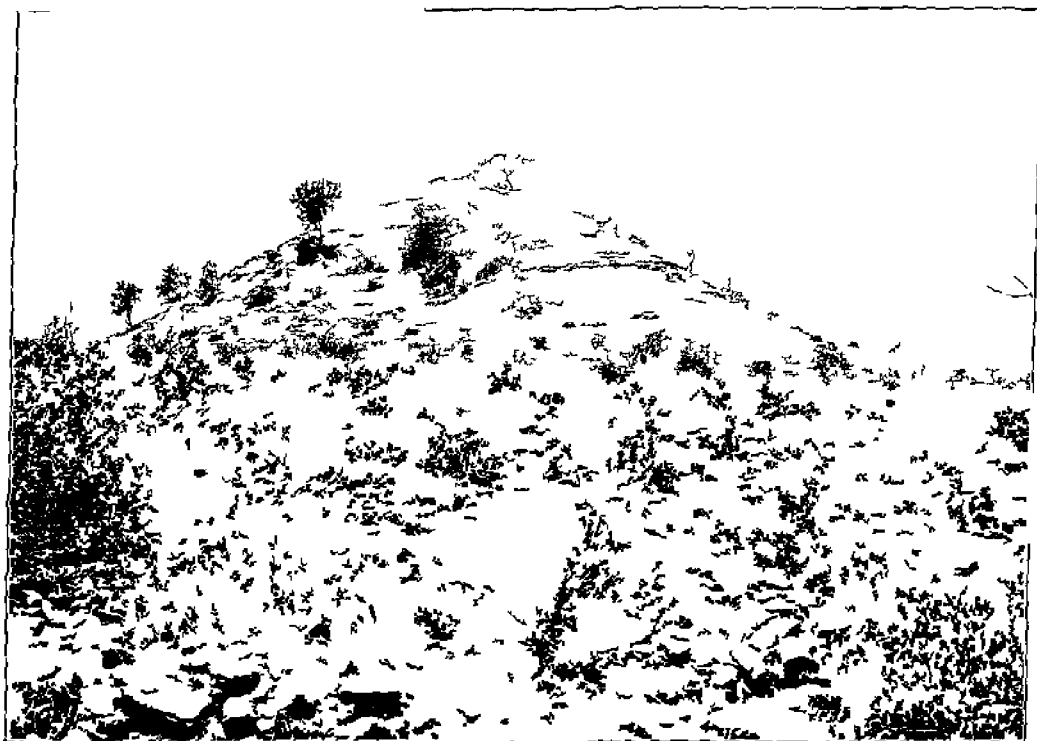


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FIG. 101



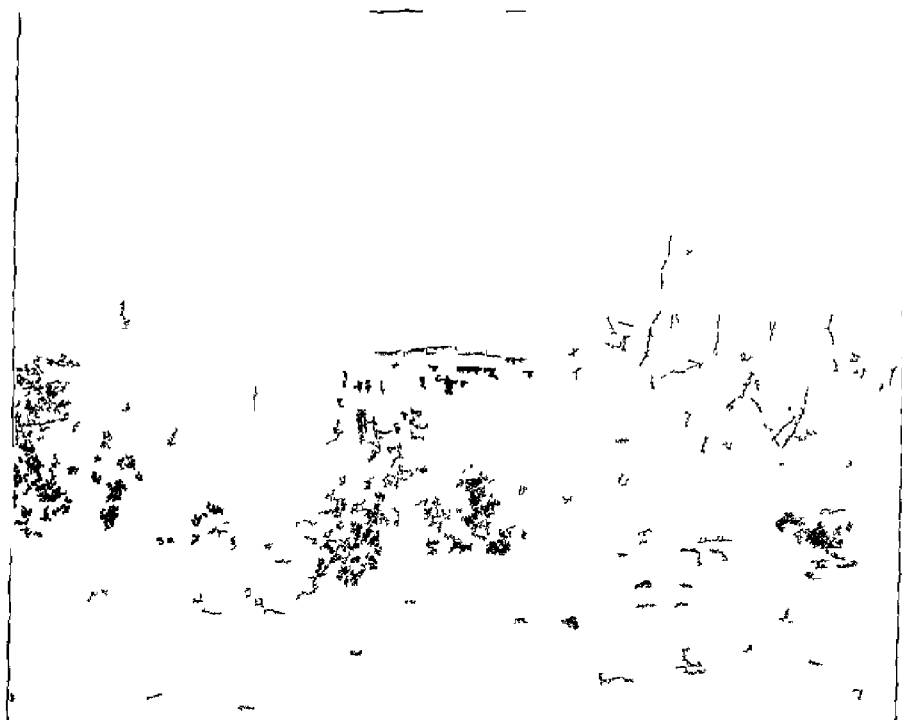
FIG. 102

THE HAIAHAYAS OF TRIPURI





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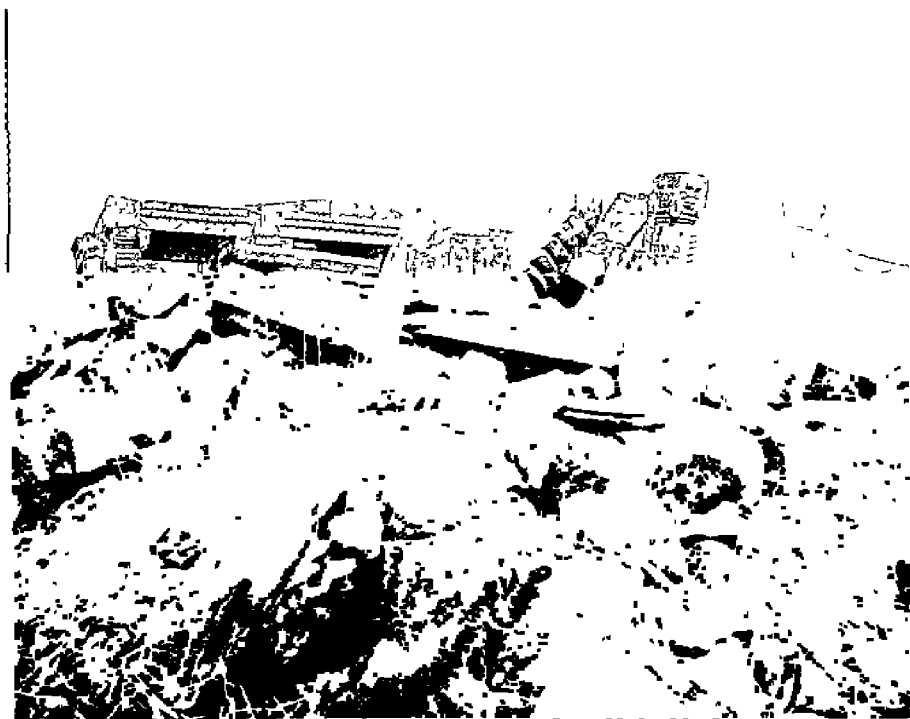
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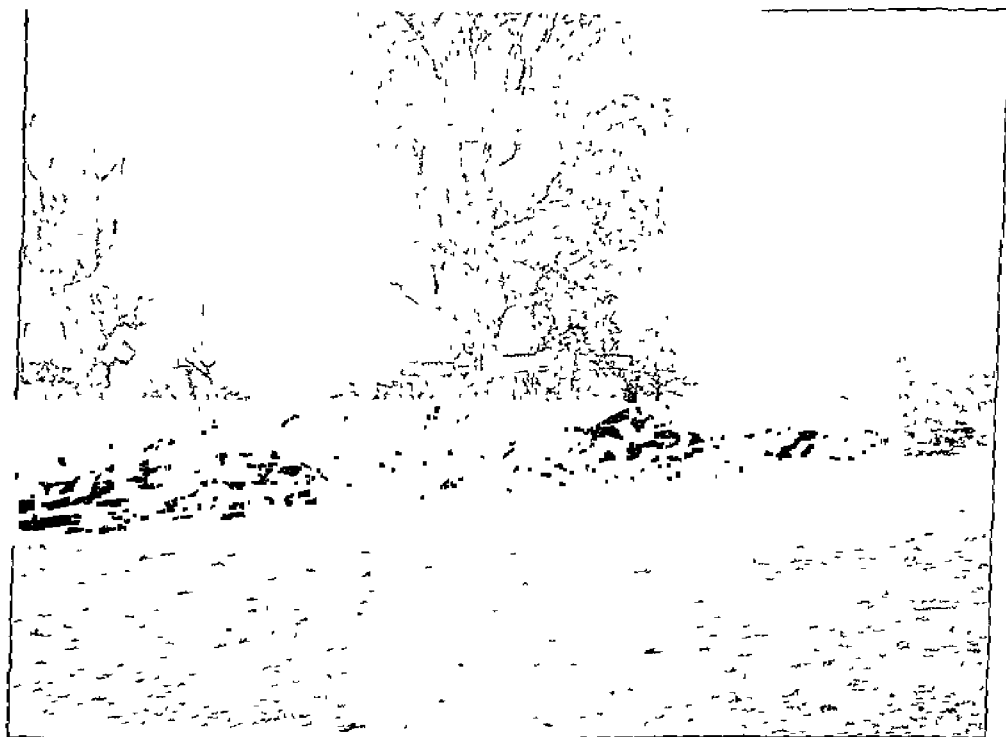


(6) GAJ MAHAL

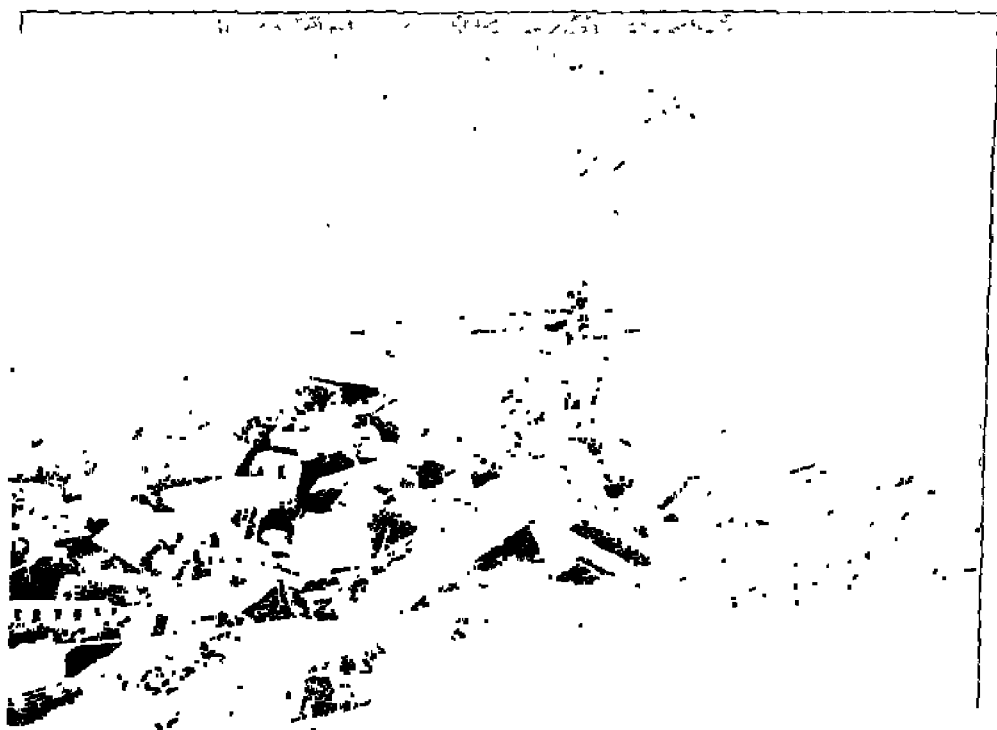


(7) GARBHAGRIHA  
TEMPLE OF KAMALINDA PIHAJ





(1) GENERAL VIEW



(2) PILLARS OF VANDAPU  
TEMPLE OF SIVA, BARGUNA



# HATHAYAS OF TRIPURI NUTTY GARDENS



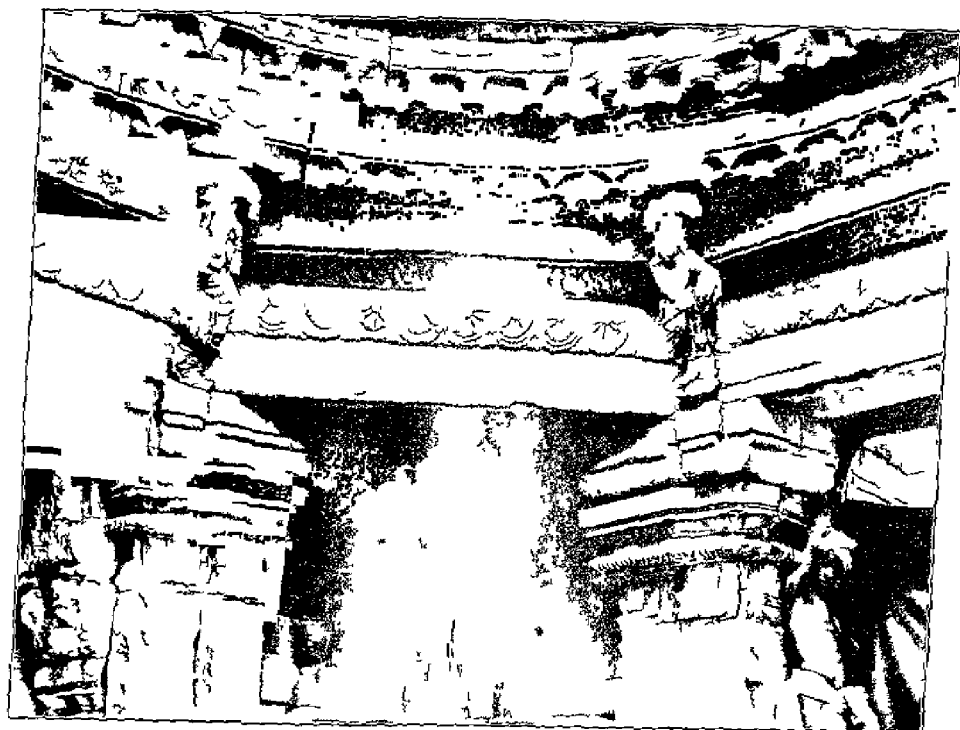
100

THE TEMPLE OF VISHNUSWAMY

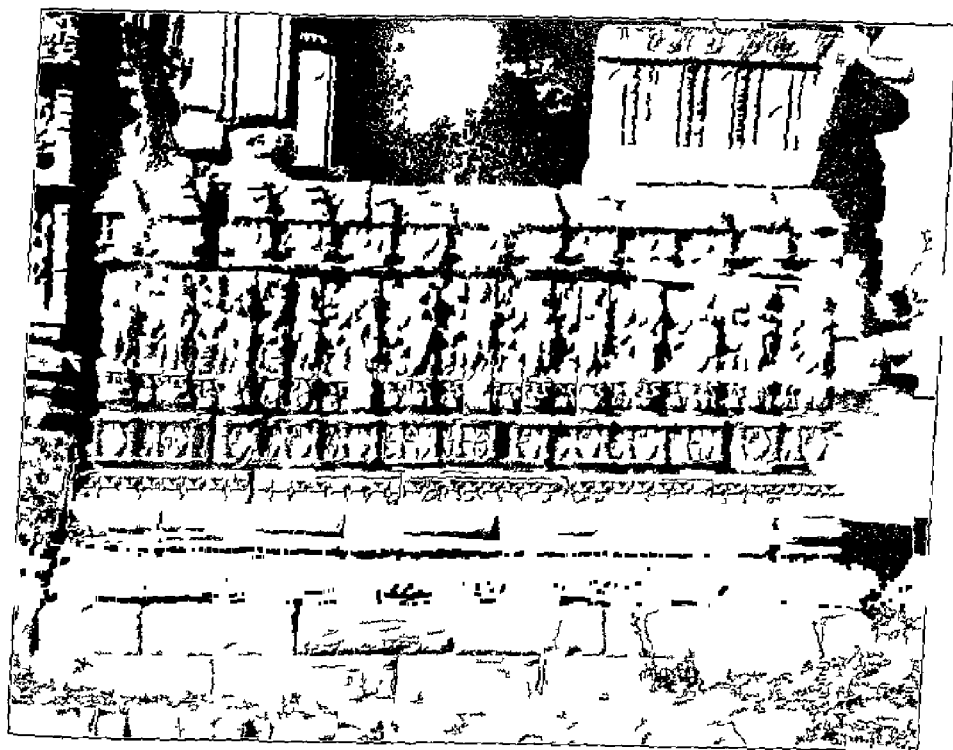


101





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HAIFA S'OF TRIPUR AND THE MONUMENTS



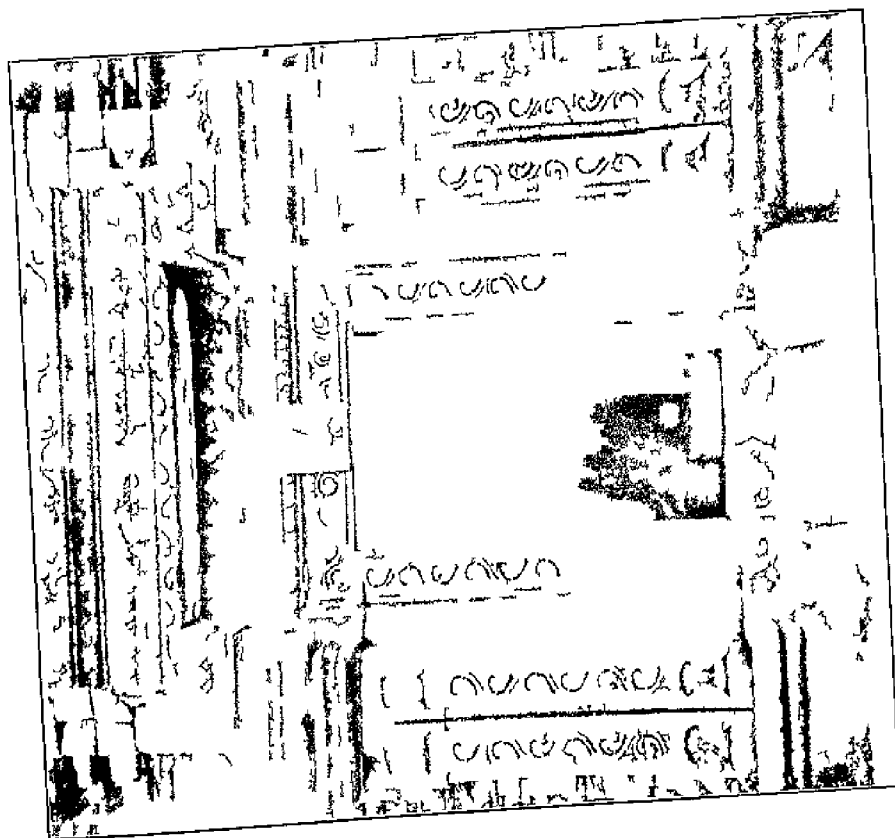
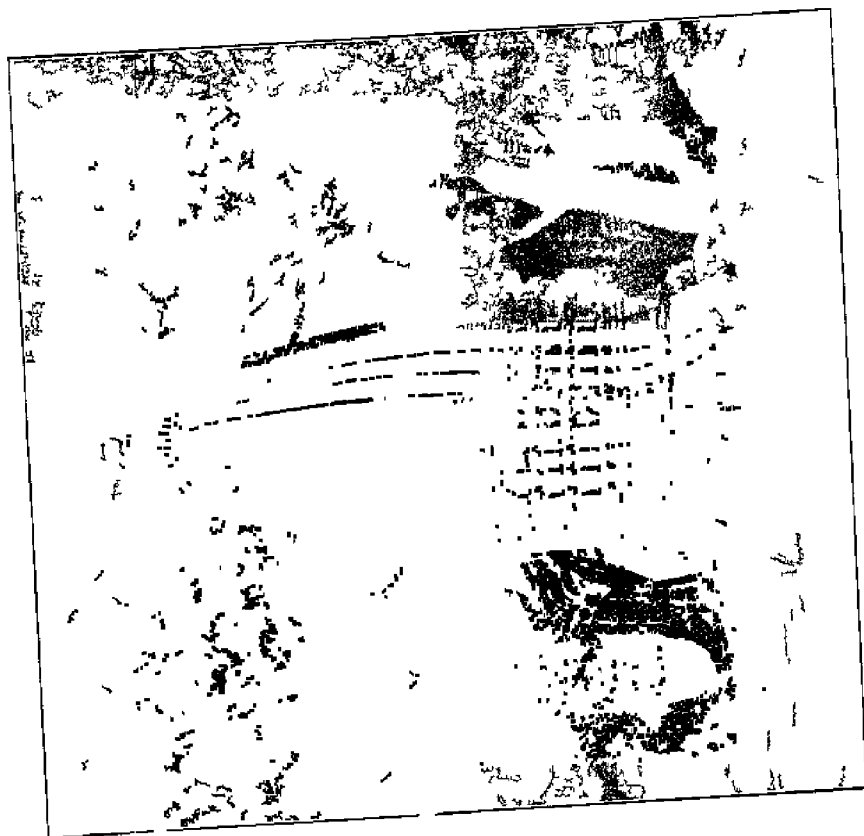
C. M. O. P.  
TABLE OF CONTENTS



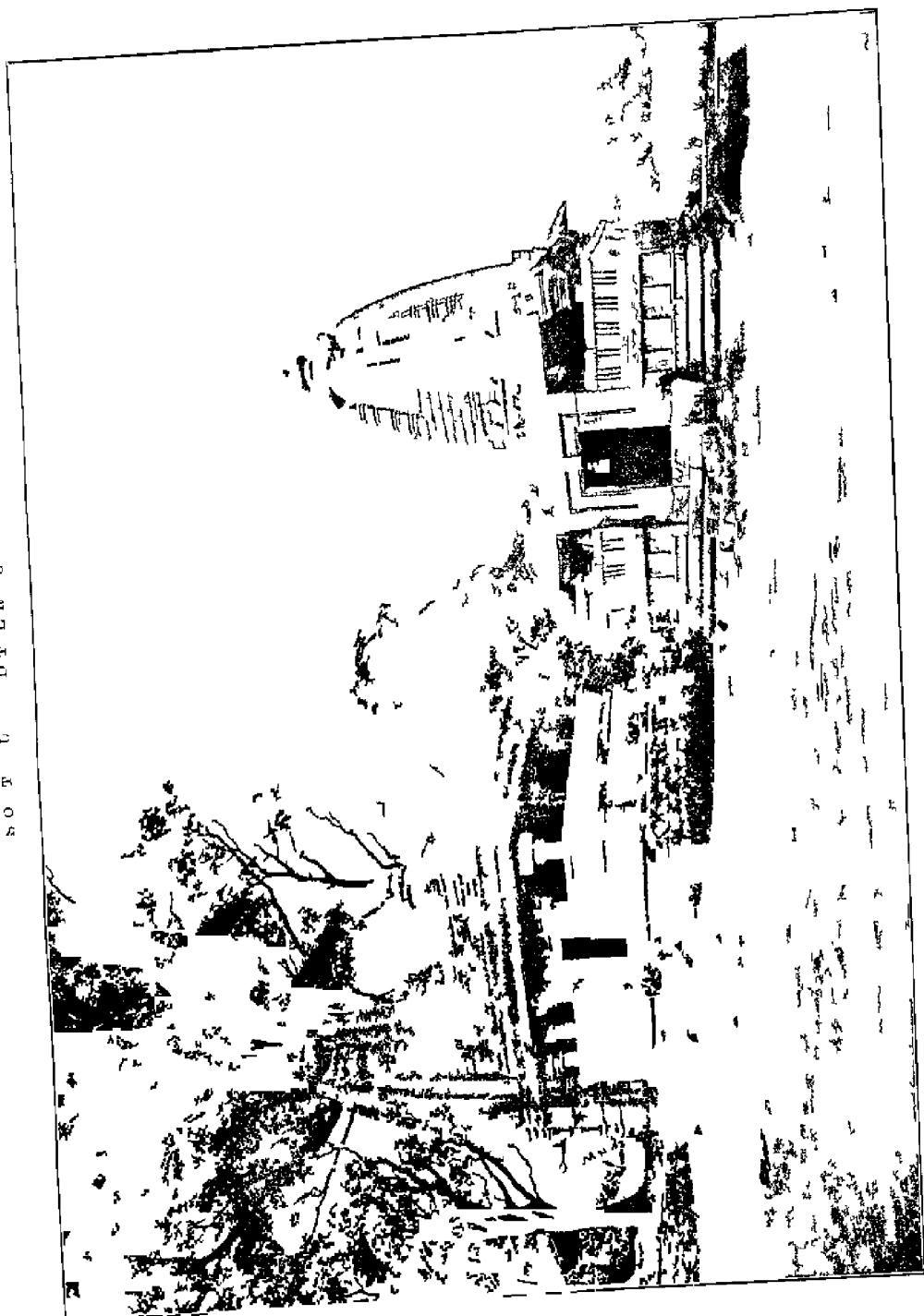
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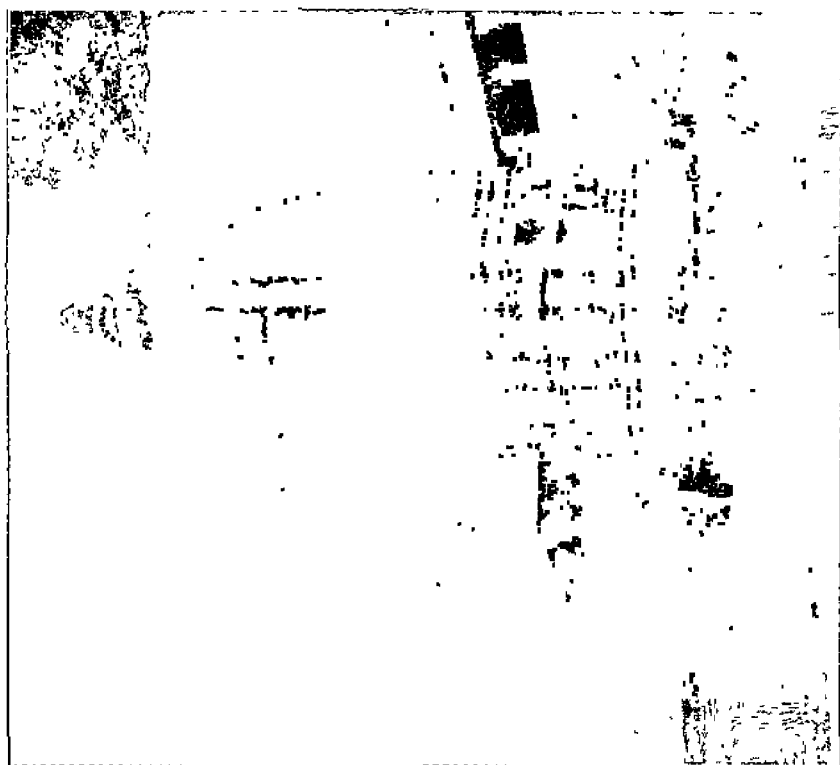










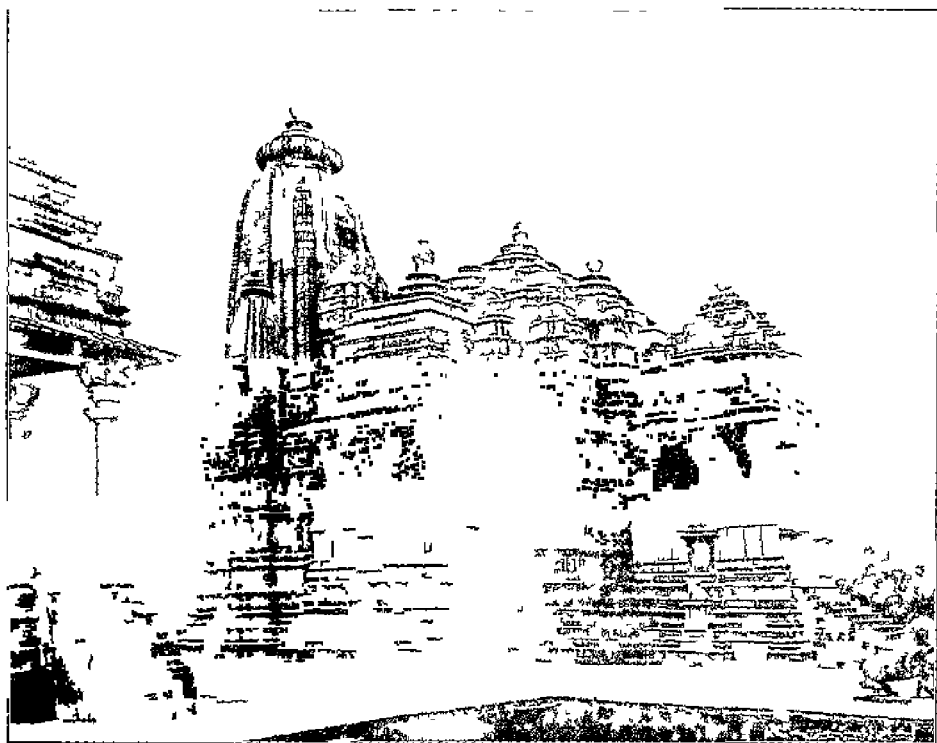


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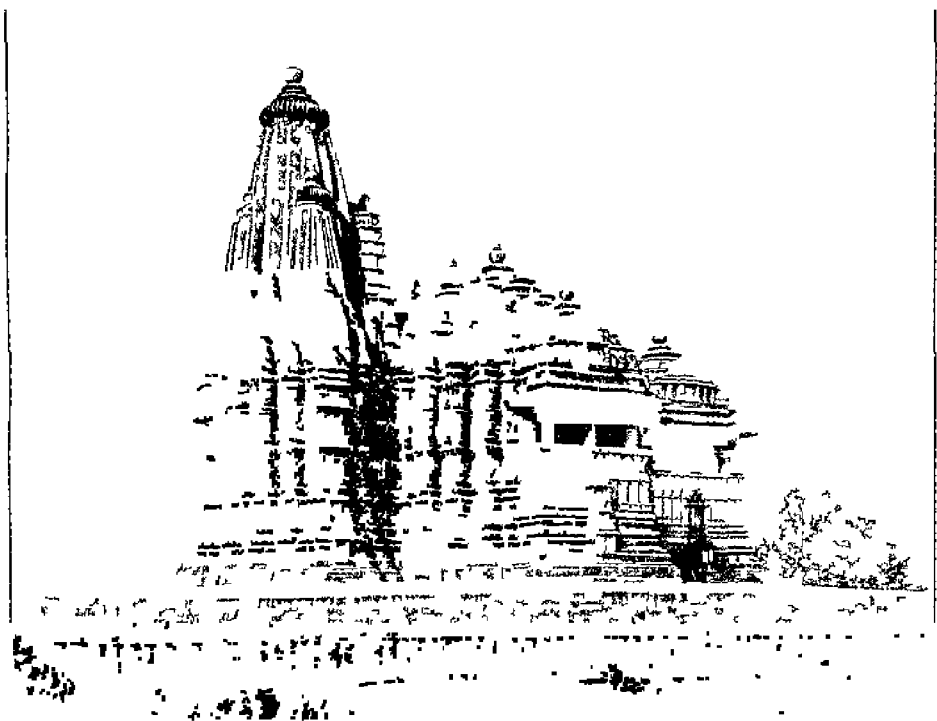


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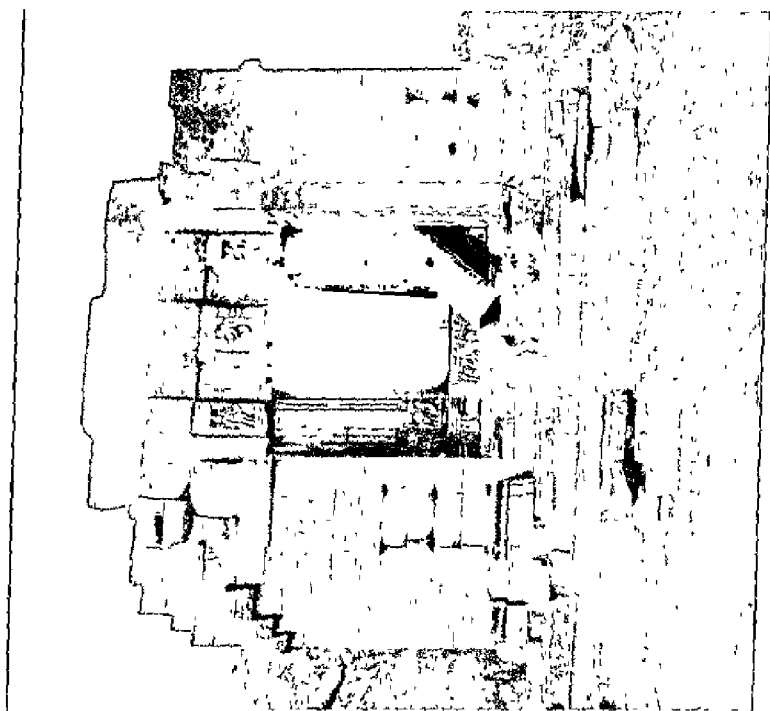
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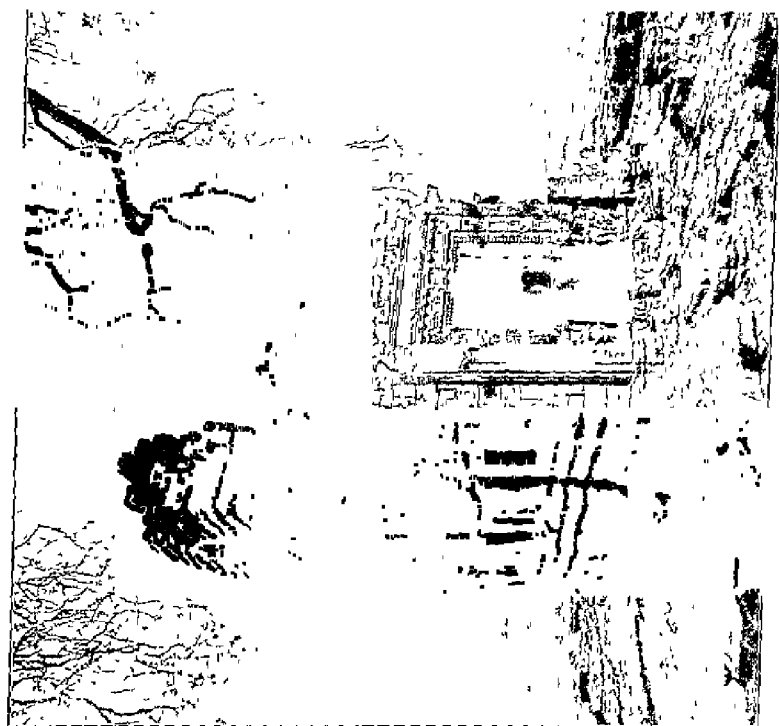
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# TEMPLES OF THE PLAC AND THEIR MONUMENTS

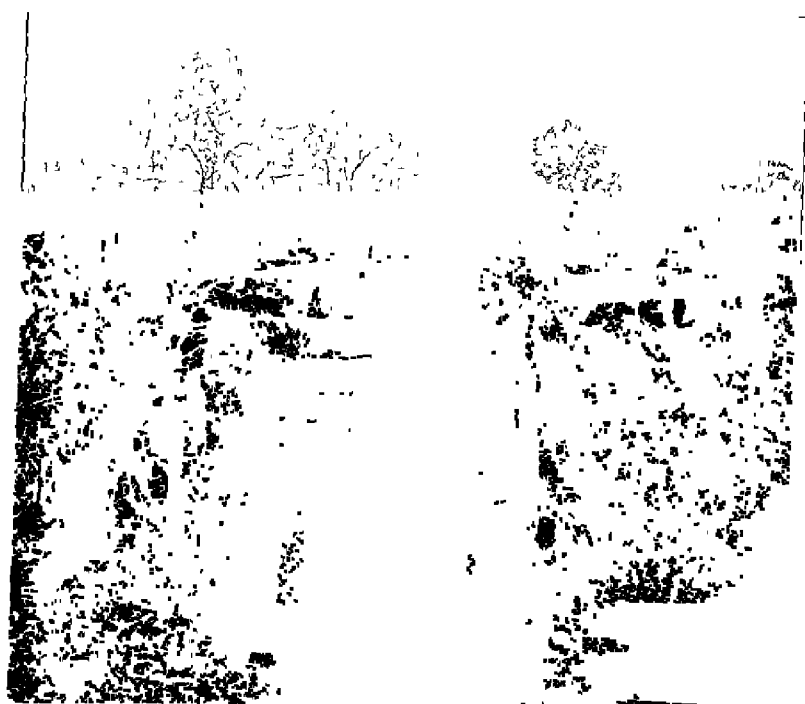


(a) Temple of Soma (Soma) at Plac



(b) Temple of Soma (Soma) at Plac





(a)

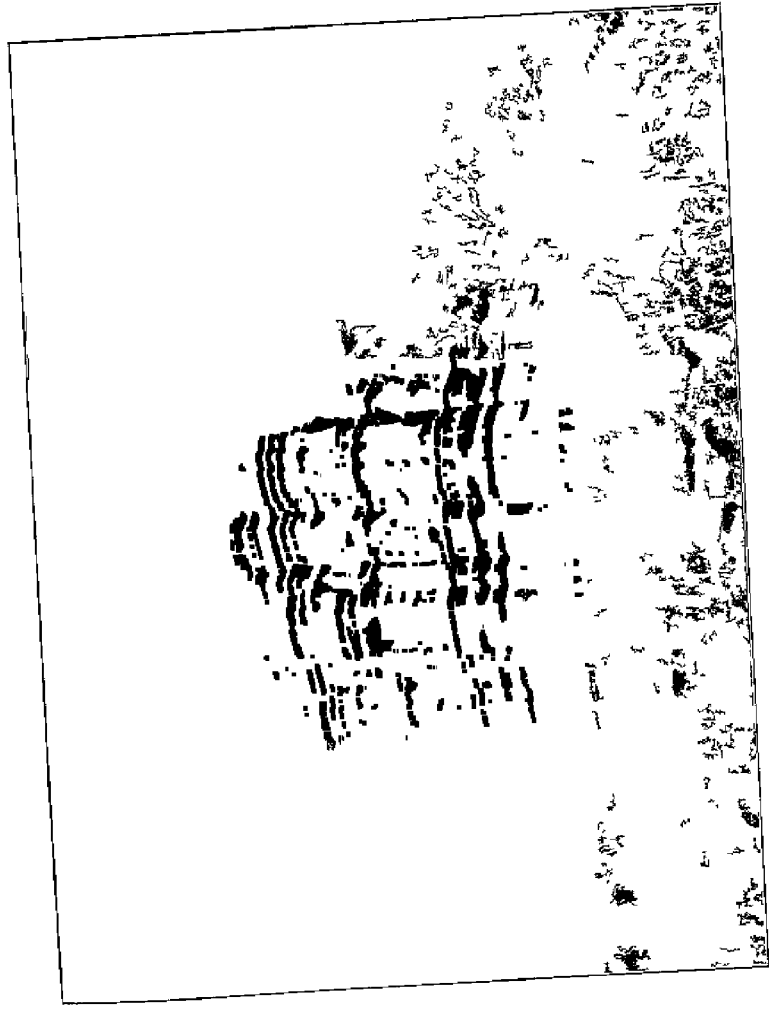


(b)

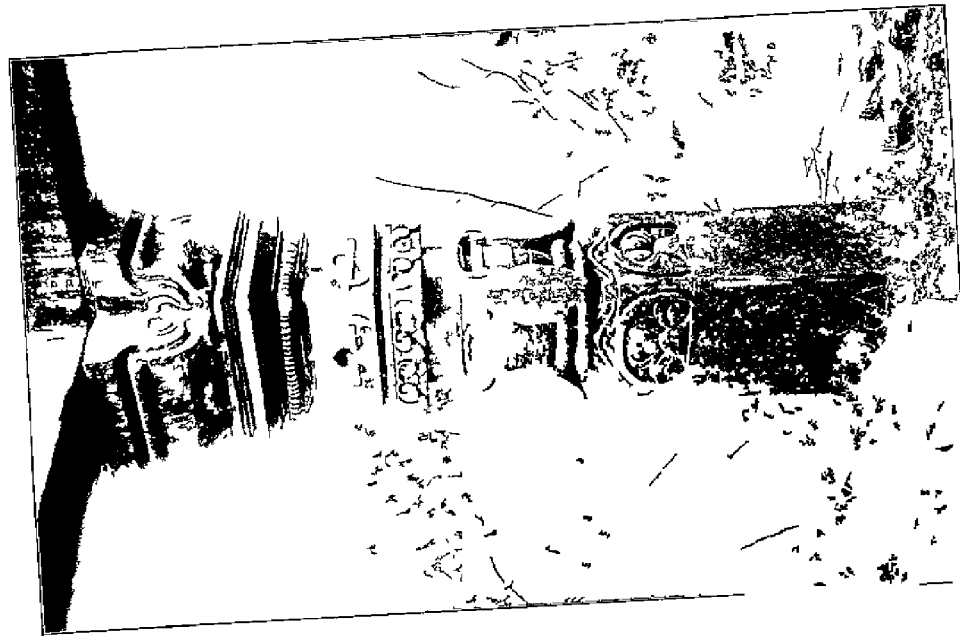
RUINS OF TEMPLES, KAPANDU







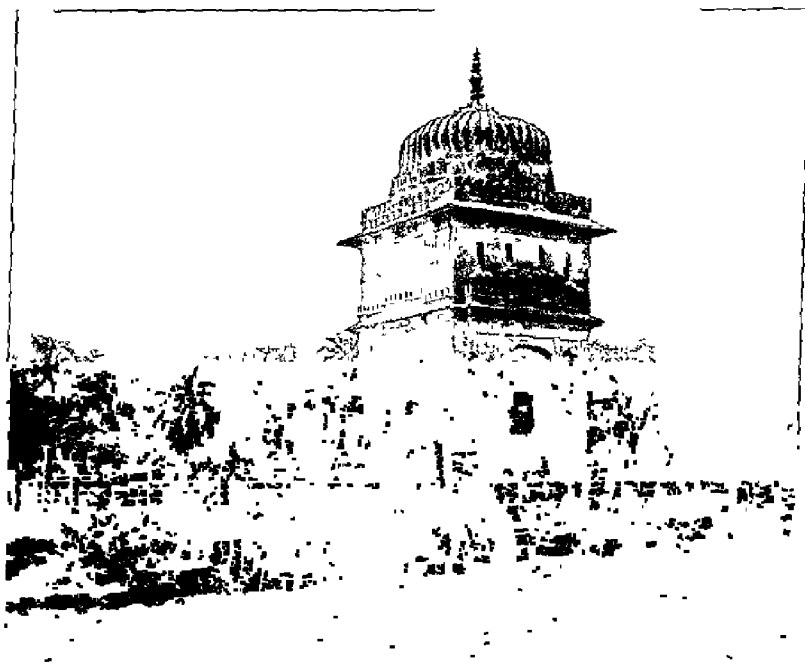
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HAITAVAS OF TRIPURI AND THEIR MONUMENTS



(c) TEMPLE OF VISHNU VARAHA, BIGHALI



(d) STOPPED WELL, TLUAR



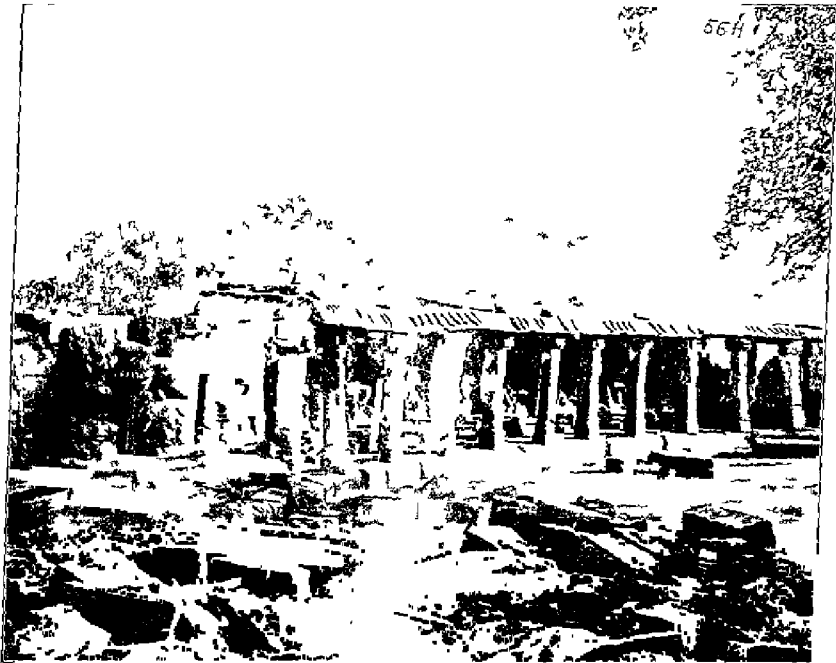
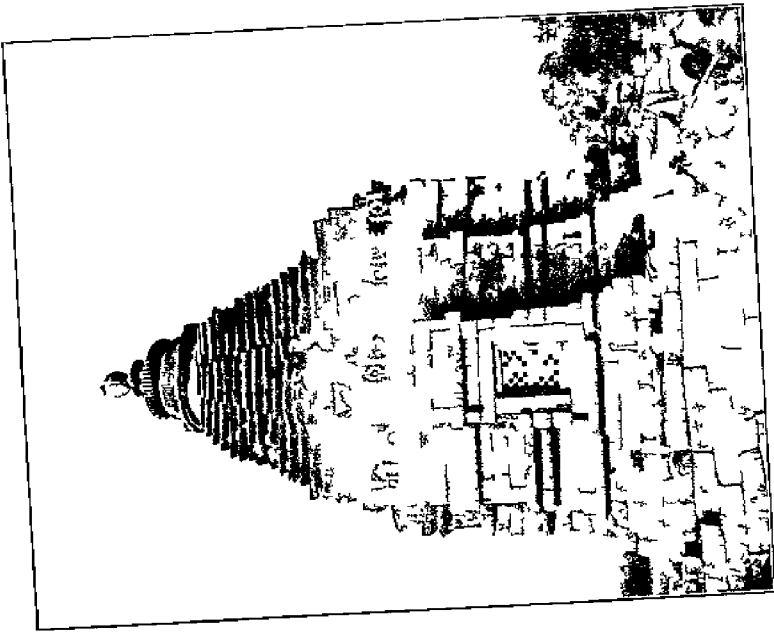


EXHIBIT II

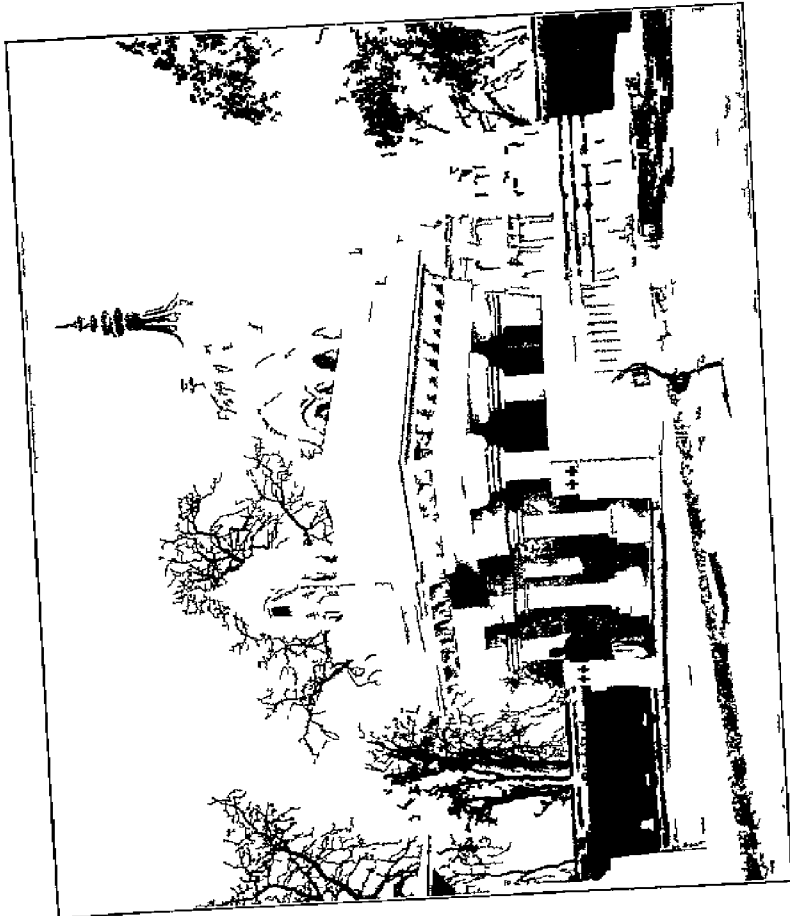


EXHIBIT III  
C. D. AR. T. B. L. F. O. S. T. F. 106 E. G. A.





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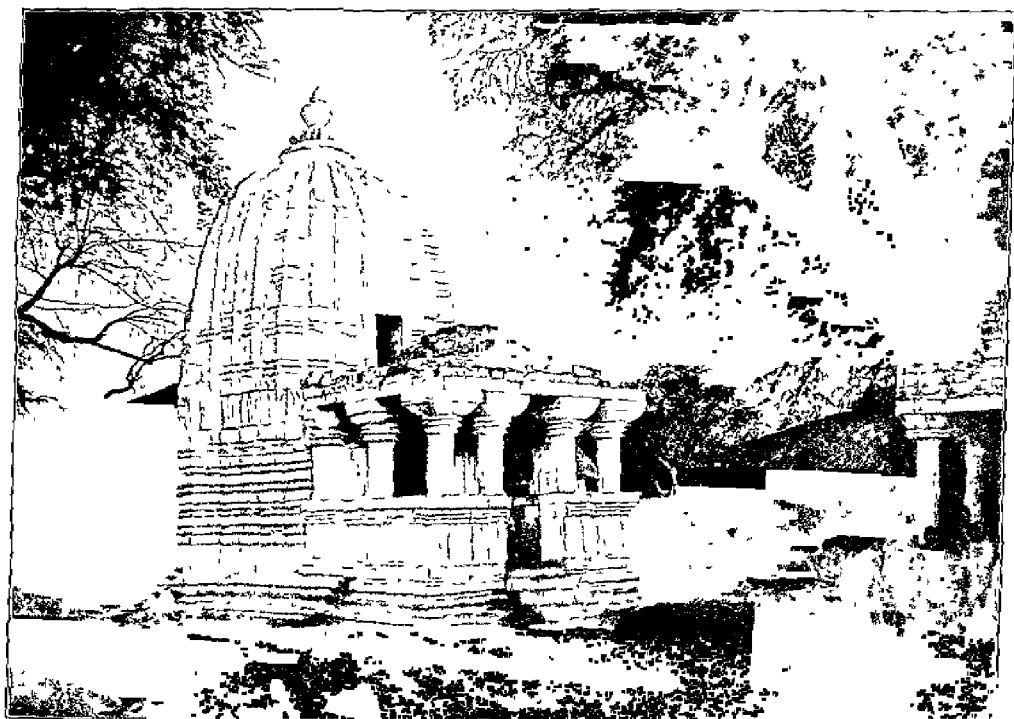
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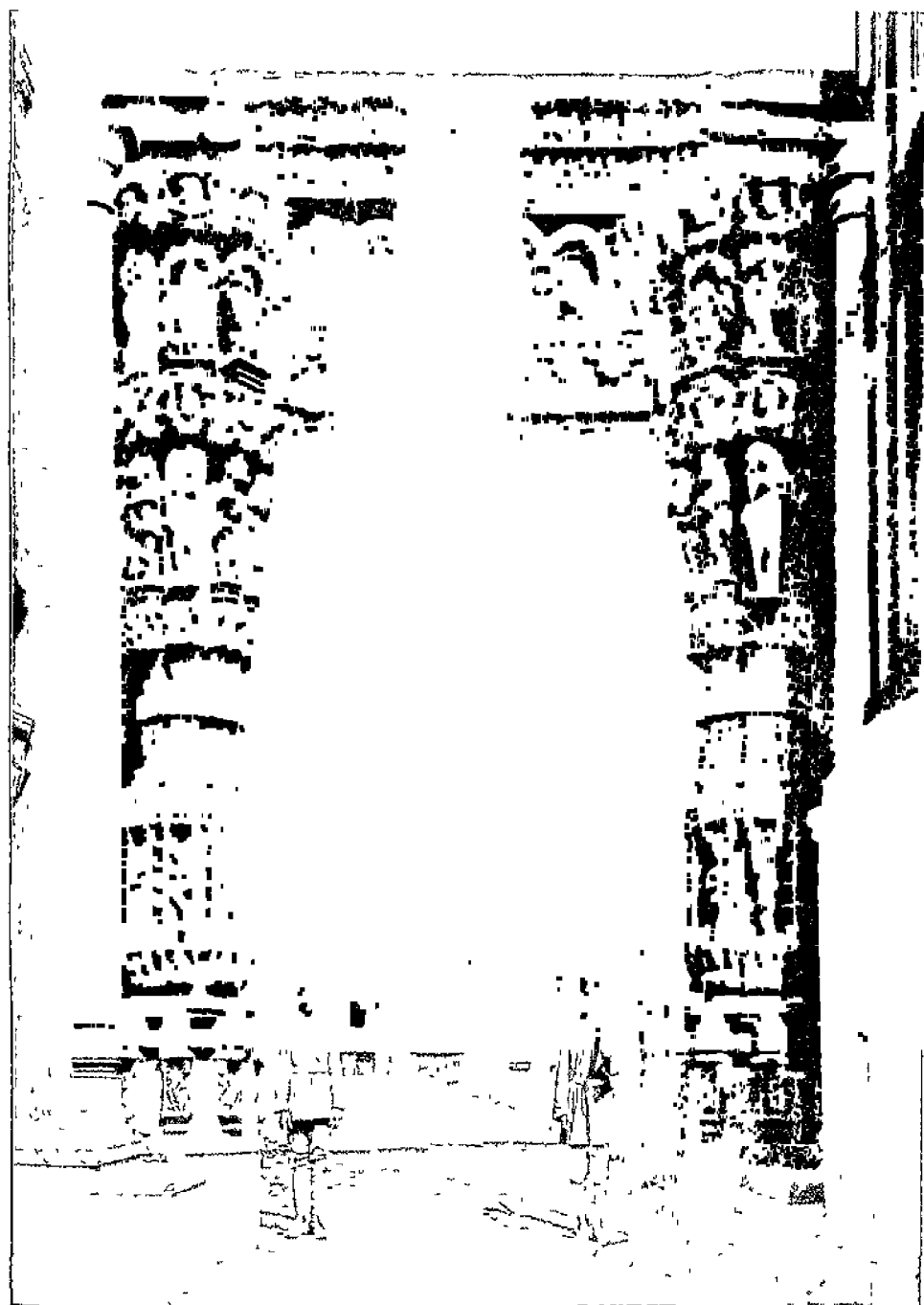


1st TEMPLE OF SIVA



2d TEMPLE OF SOMANATHA  
DEOTALAO





FRONT  
TORANA OF TEMPLE OF SHIVA AT GURGA

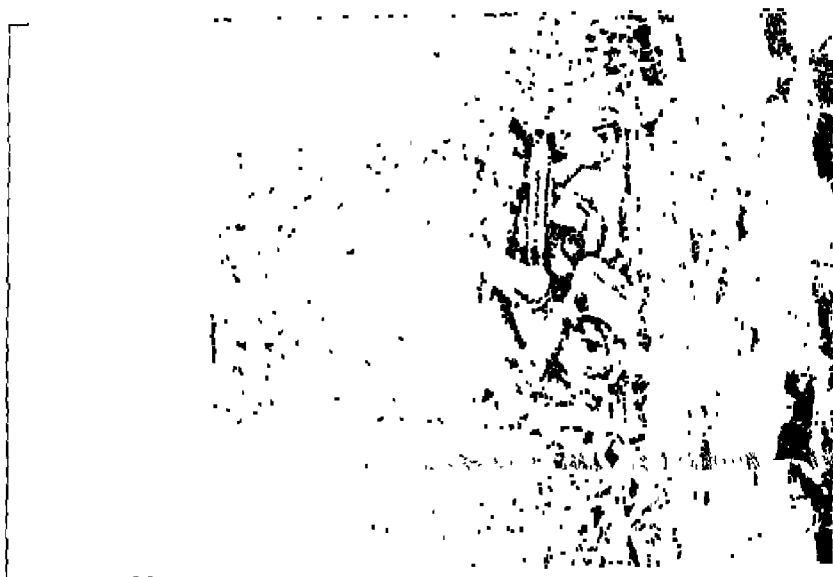


HAIBAYAS OF TRIPURI AND THEIR MONUMENTS.



BACK  
TORANA OF TEMPLE OF SIVA AT GURGI





60. EADENA



61. UNA MARESUATA  
IMAGI ON GORGAI MOUND, GURGI





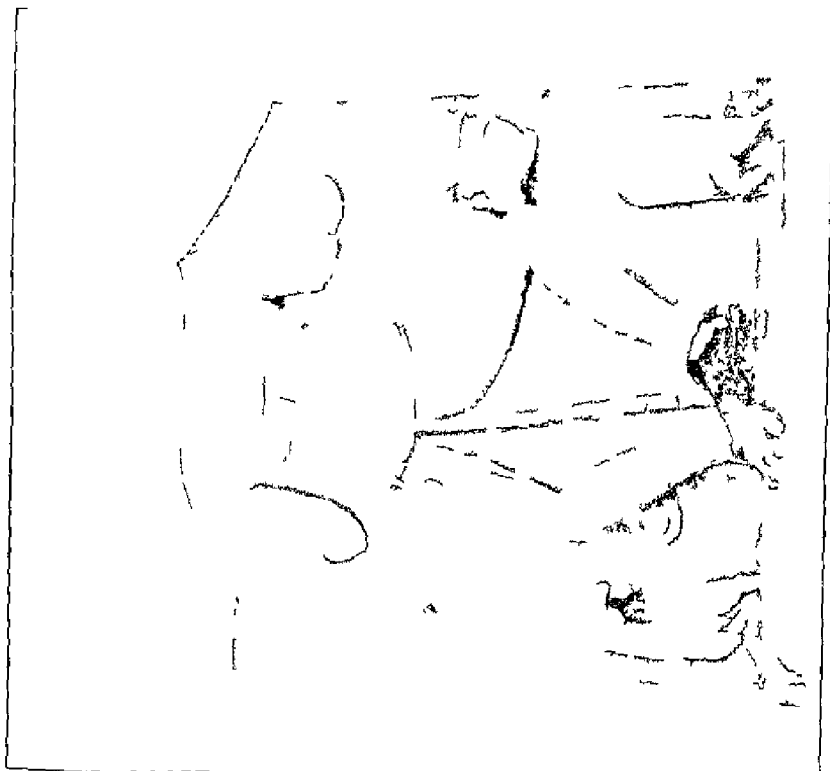


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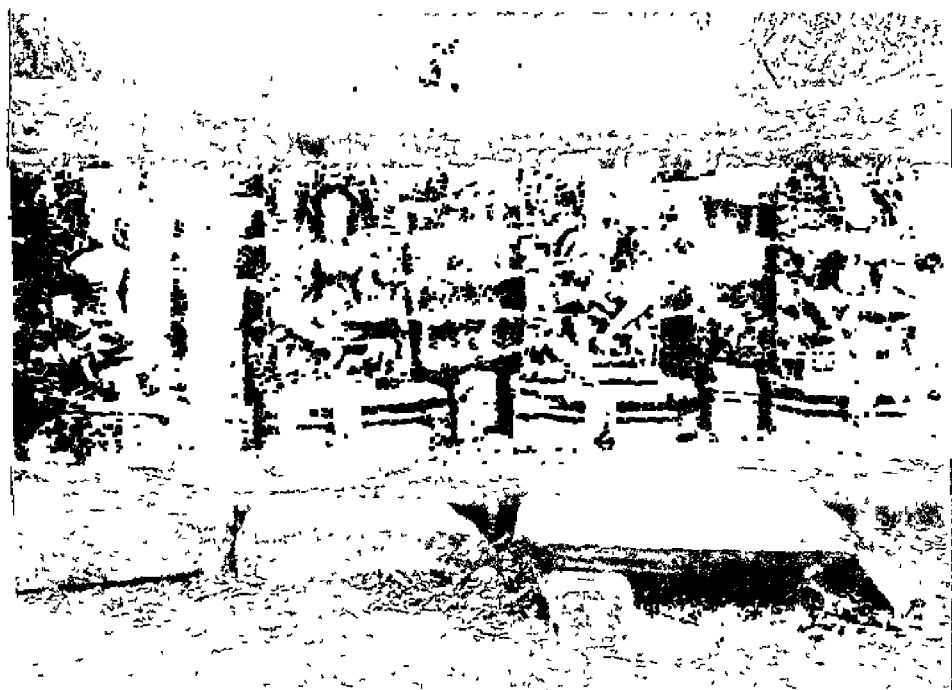


KANAKHA

(a)

SARVATOPUKH

BEARY



(b)

VIRENDRA

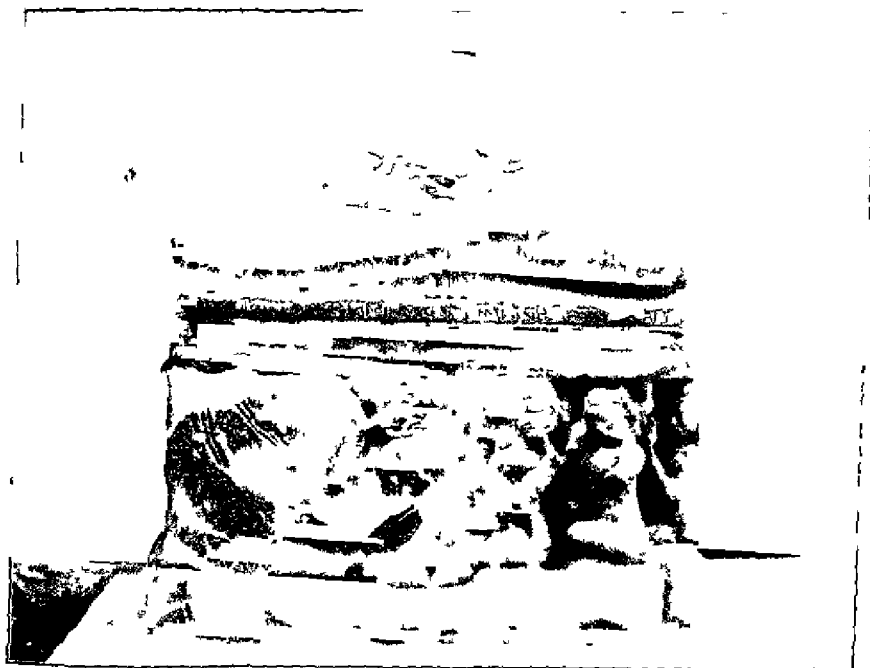
THAVINI

FROM THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF THE SIXTYFOUR YOGINIS AT BHADRACHAL





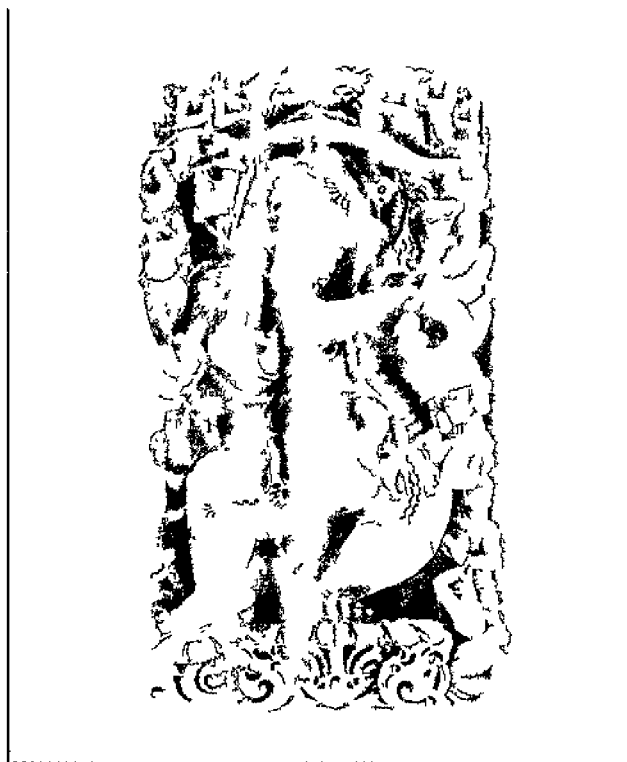
(a)



(b) DODI ISHTA

FROM THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE OF THE SUPREME LORDS AT PRIPURI





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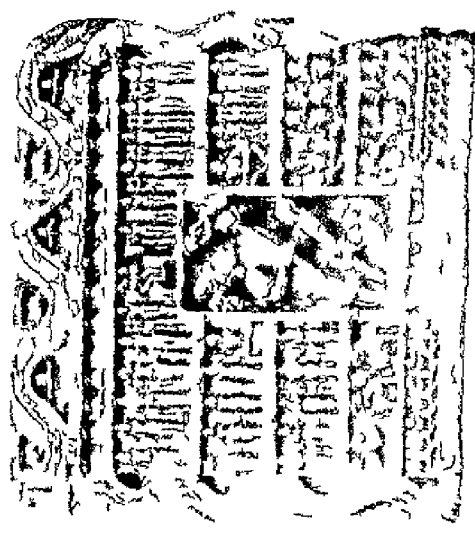


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Fig. 3







THE SEAS OF TRIPUR AND THEIR MONUMENTS



BODHI SATTVA (°) TOWA



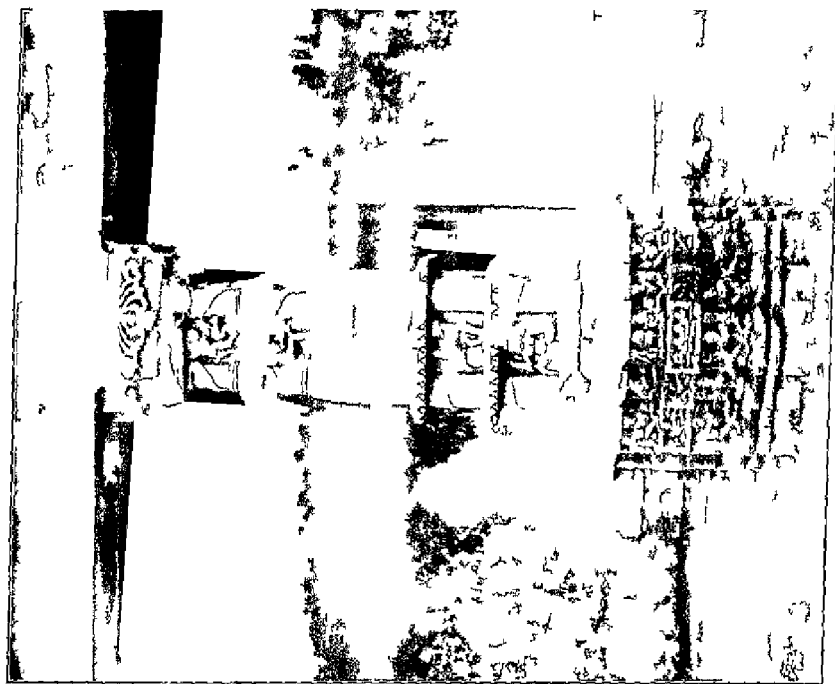


S U R N S



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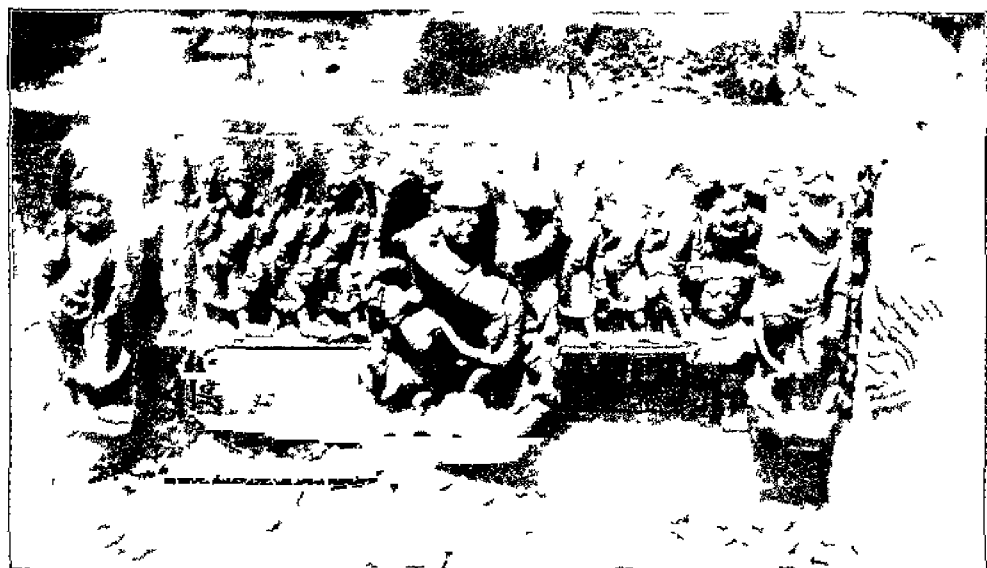








VAST AT S. JHAT NEAR G. P. G.

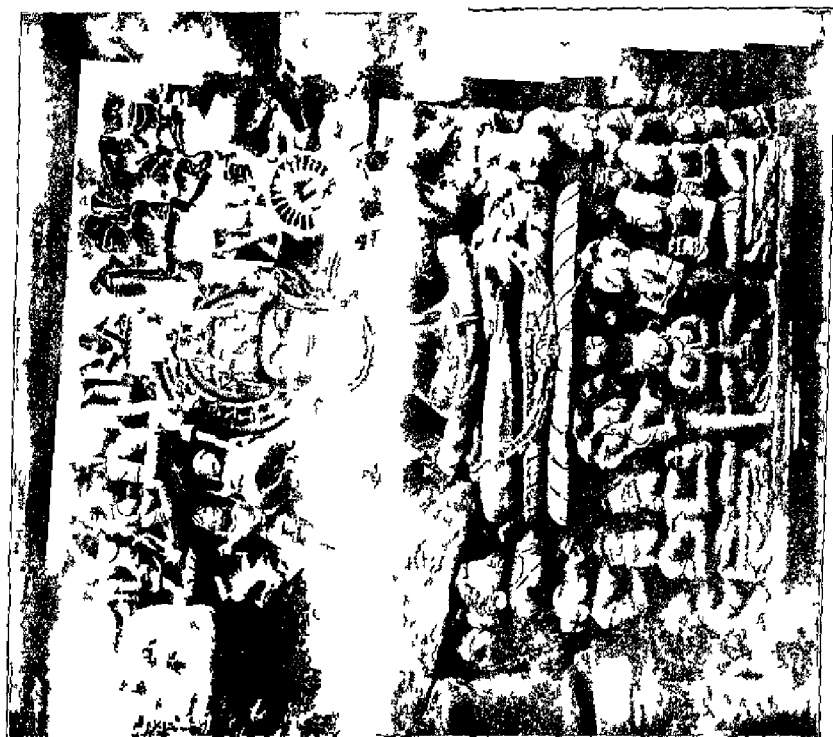


6 LINE L OF TEMPLE DE KAO





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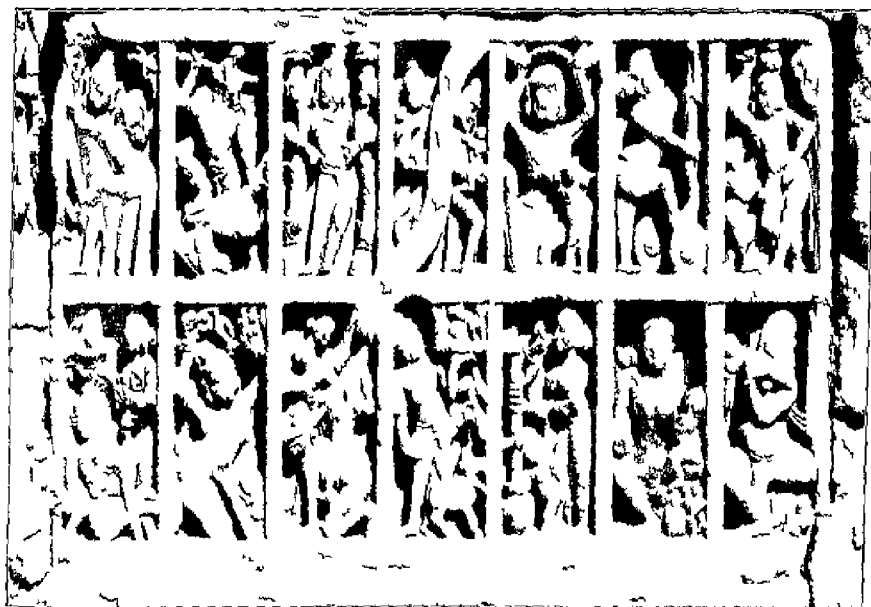
Fig. 1A. S. S. of S. R. of the Hanuman Temple, Tripuri.



HAIHAYAS ON TRIUMPH AND THEIR MONUMENTS



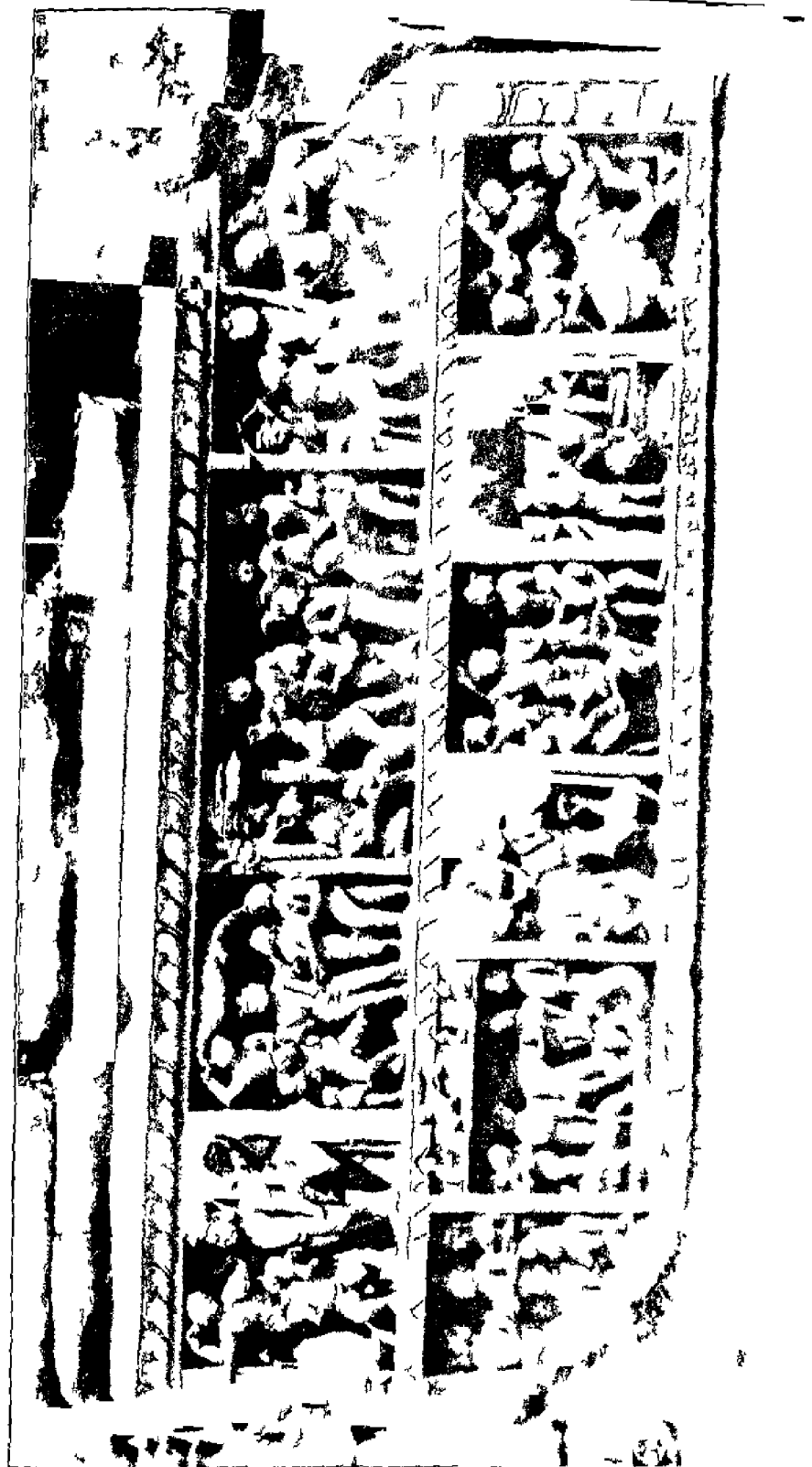
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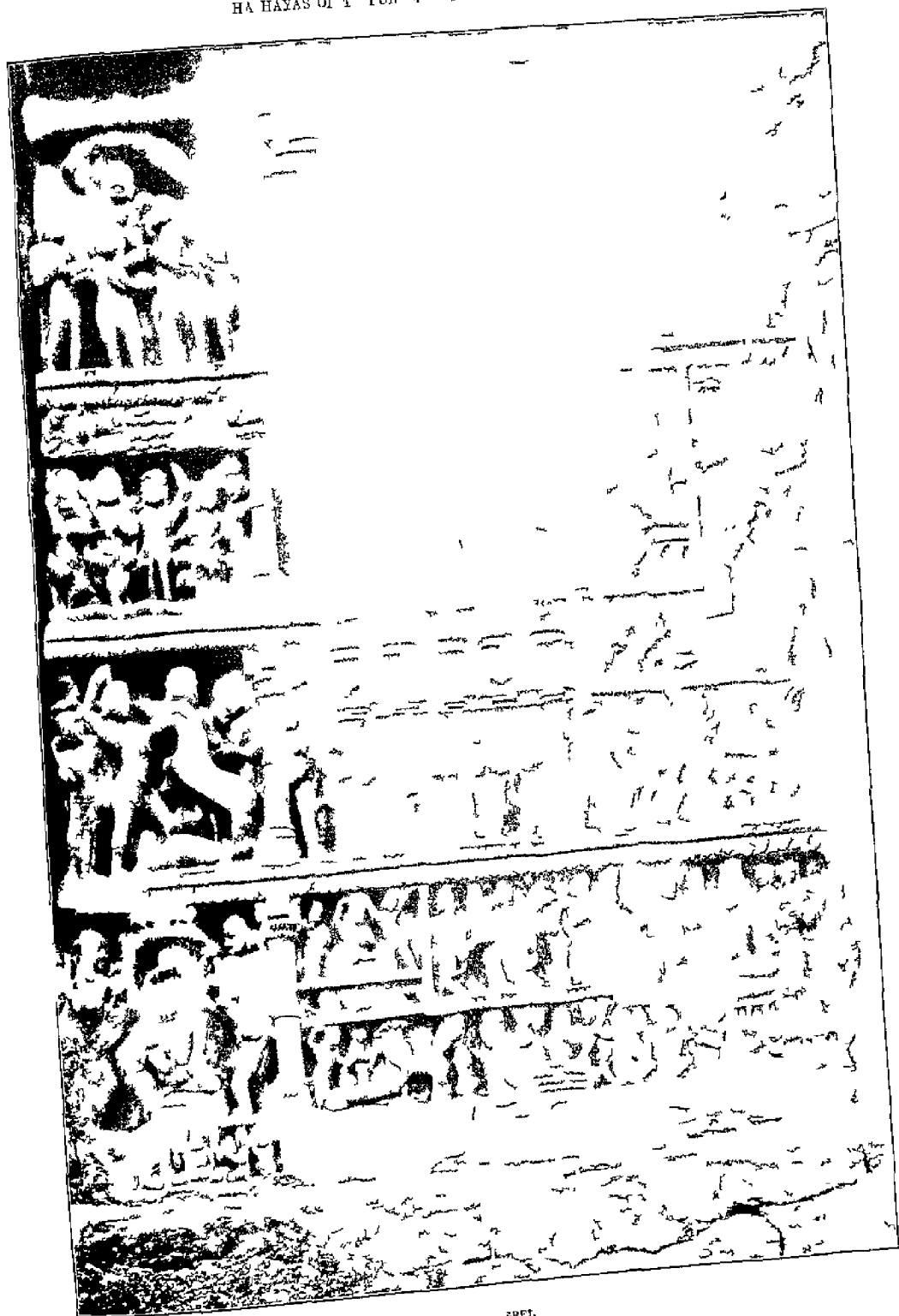


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THE FRAGMENT THROUGH THE BACK SEAT OF A TINY INDIAN TUBA

THESE ARE THE REMAINS OF A TINY INDIAN TUBA



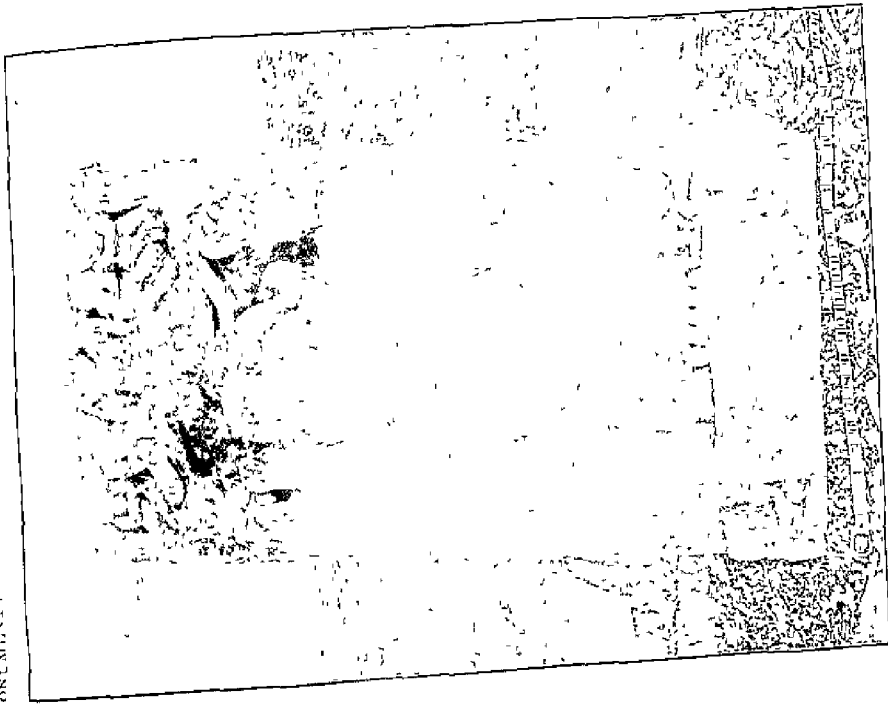
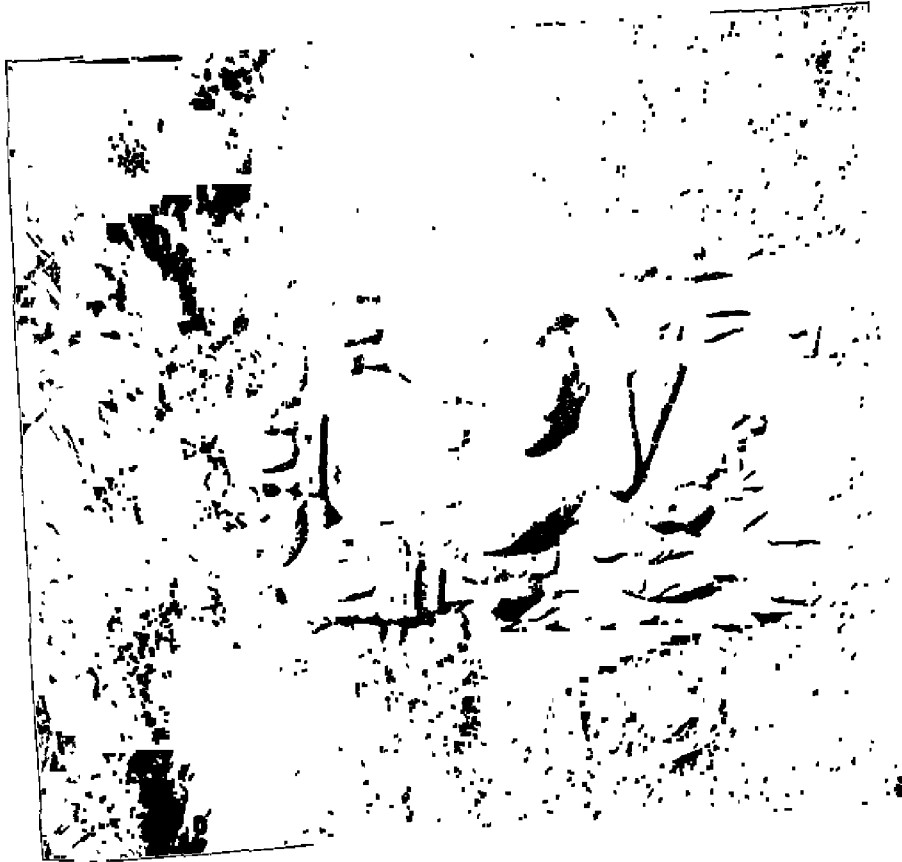
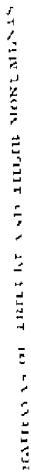
THE TUBA IN THE MUSEUM



THESE ARE THE REMAINS OF A TINY INDIAN TUBA

THESE ARE THE REMAINS OF A TINY INDIAN TUBA





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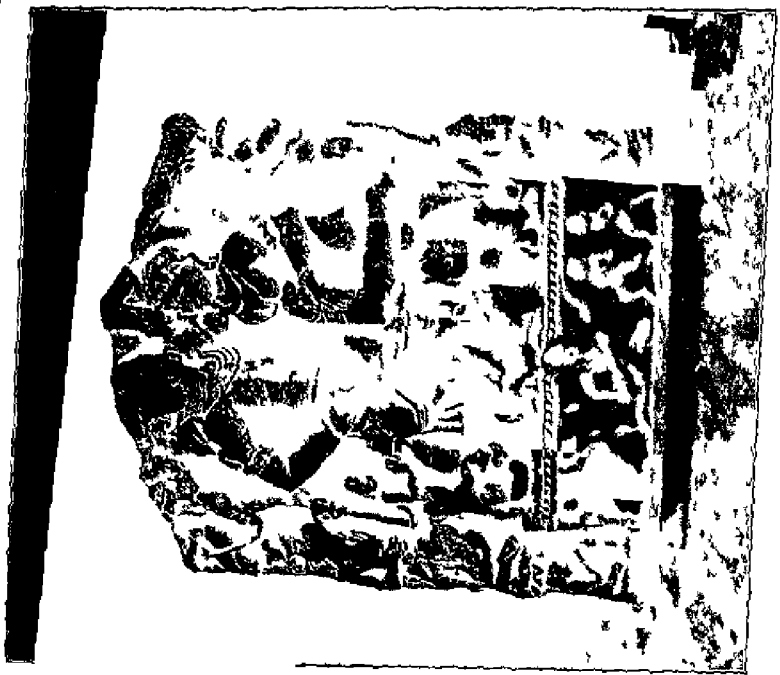
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

$$f(x) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{\pi}} e^{-x^2} \quad f'(x) = -2x f(x) \quad f''(x) = (4x^2 - 2)f(x)$$

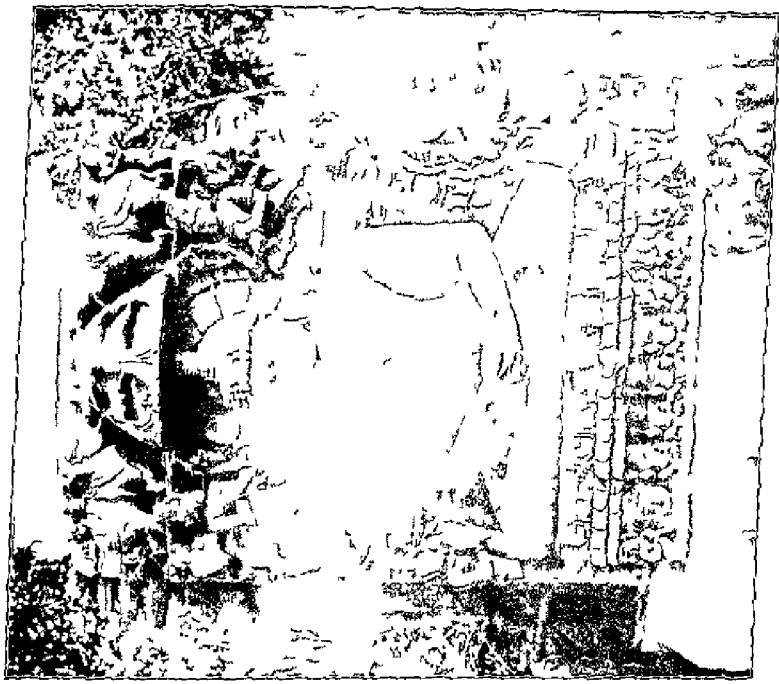




REAR VIEW OF THE ALTAR IN THE CHURCH



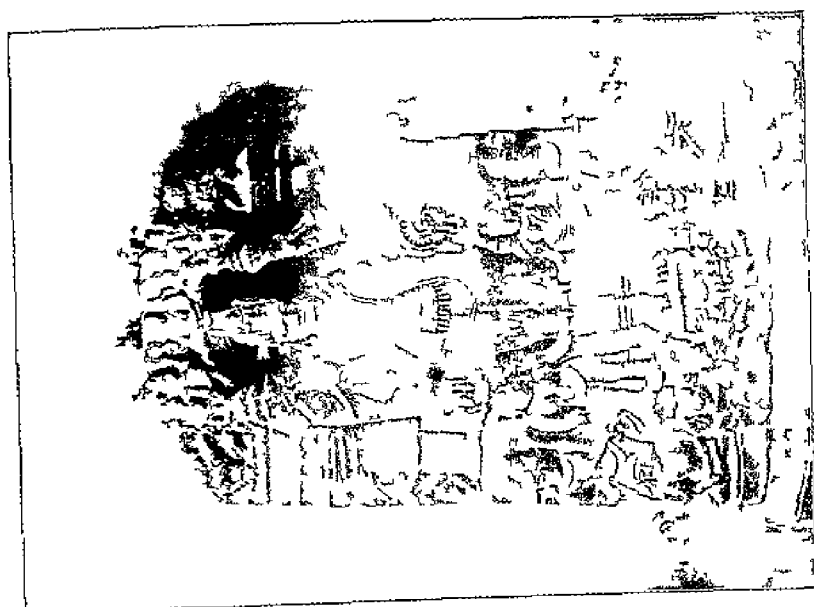
REAR VIEW OF THE ALTAR



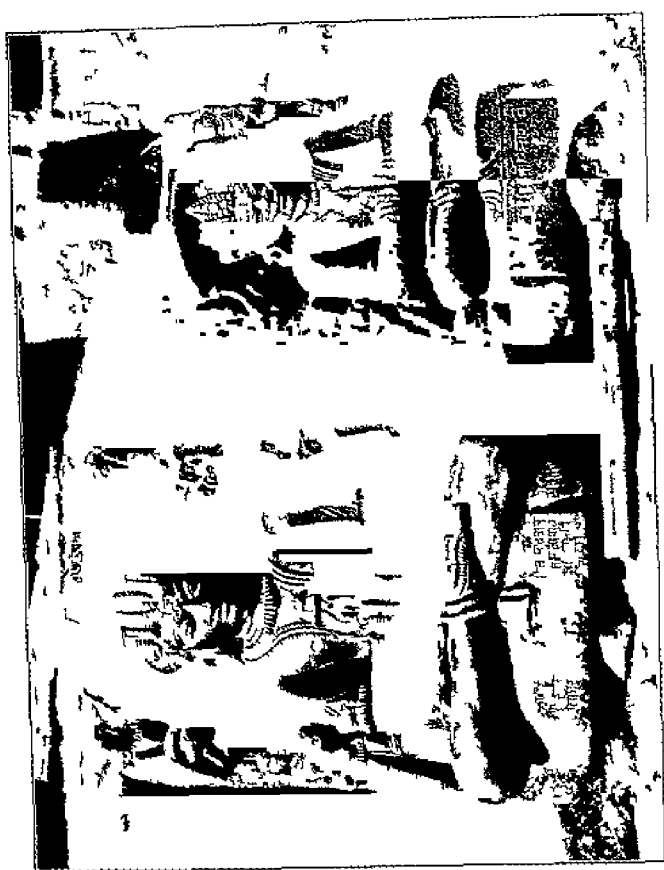
FRONT VIEW OF THE ALTAR



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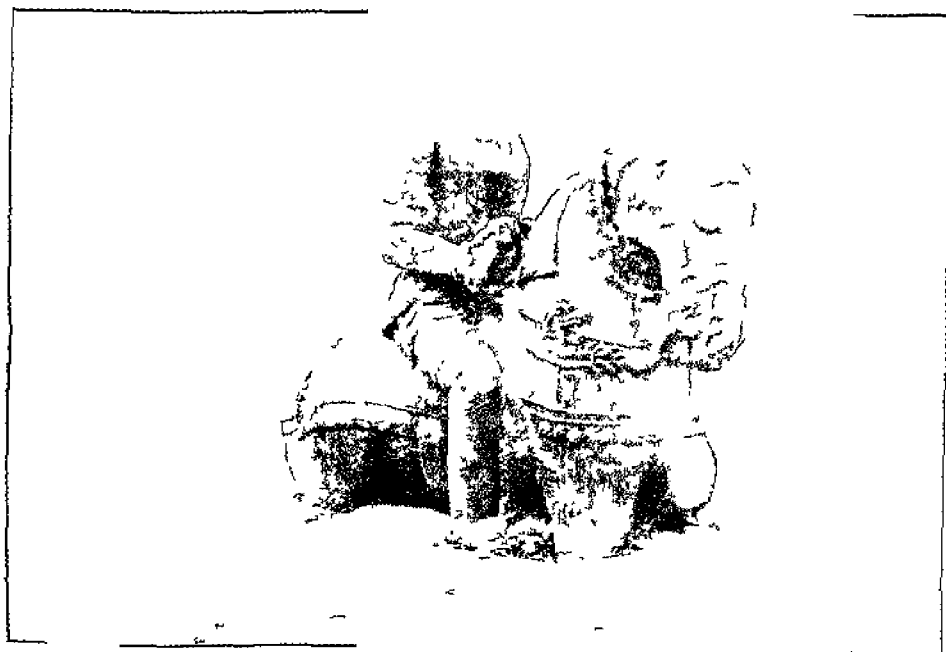
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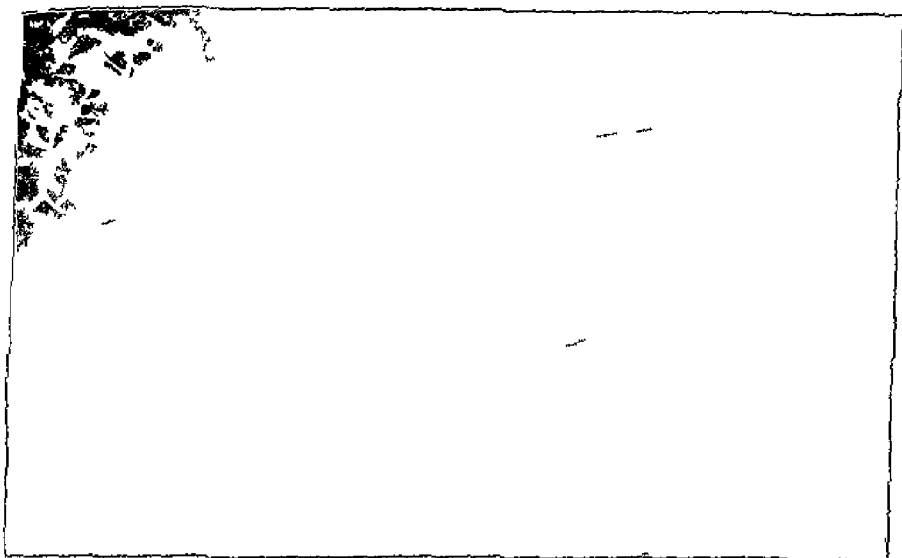
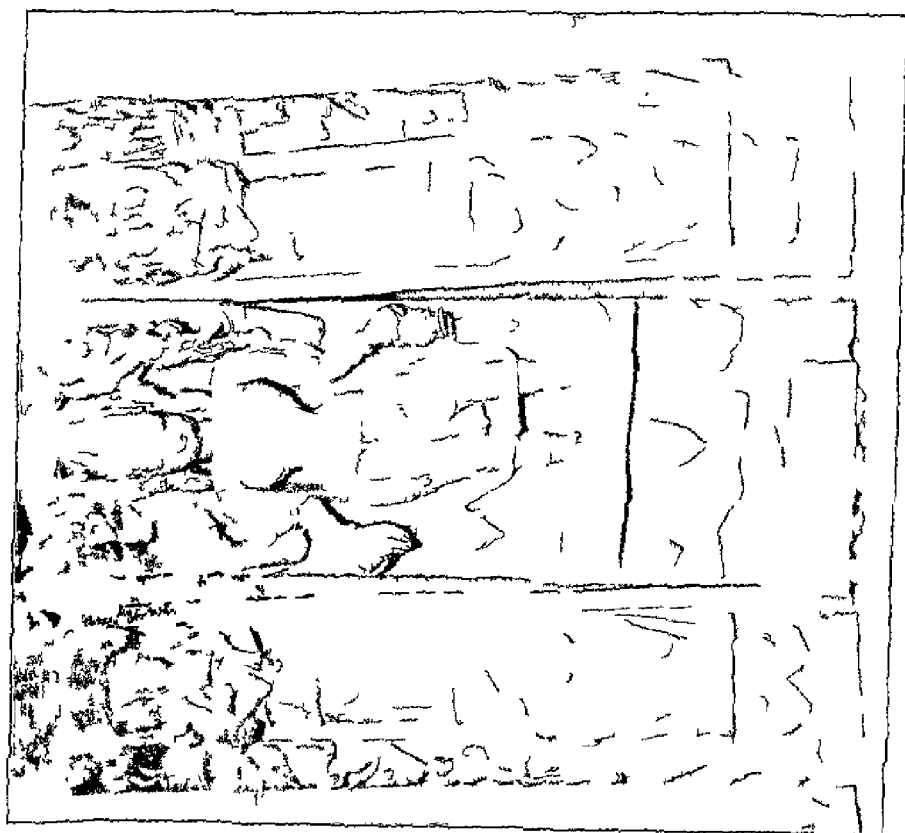


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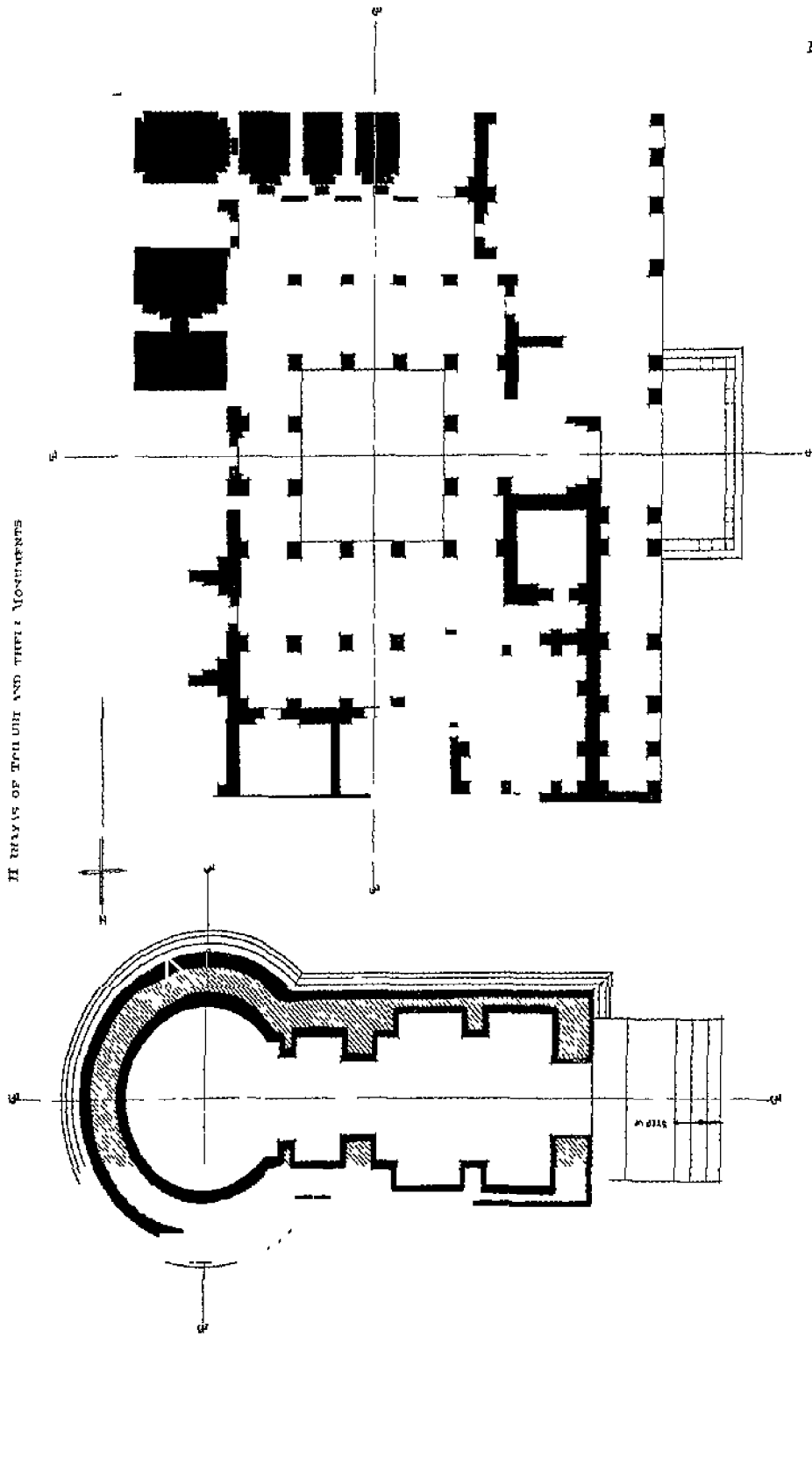
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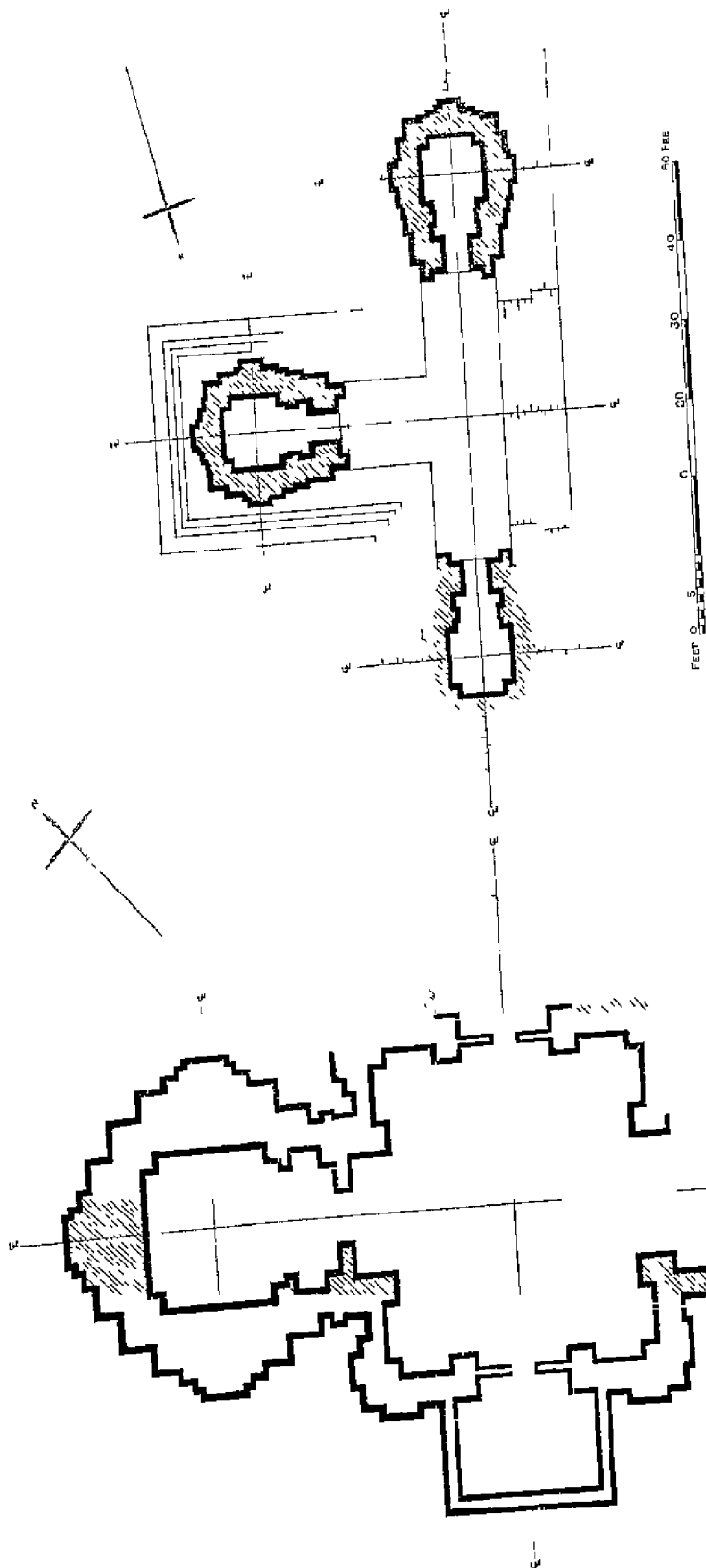
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(a) PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF SIVA AT GURGI MAGAUN (REWA STATE)

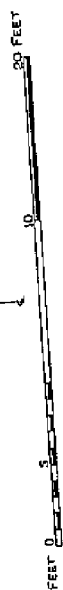
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PLATE LIV





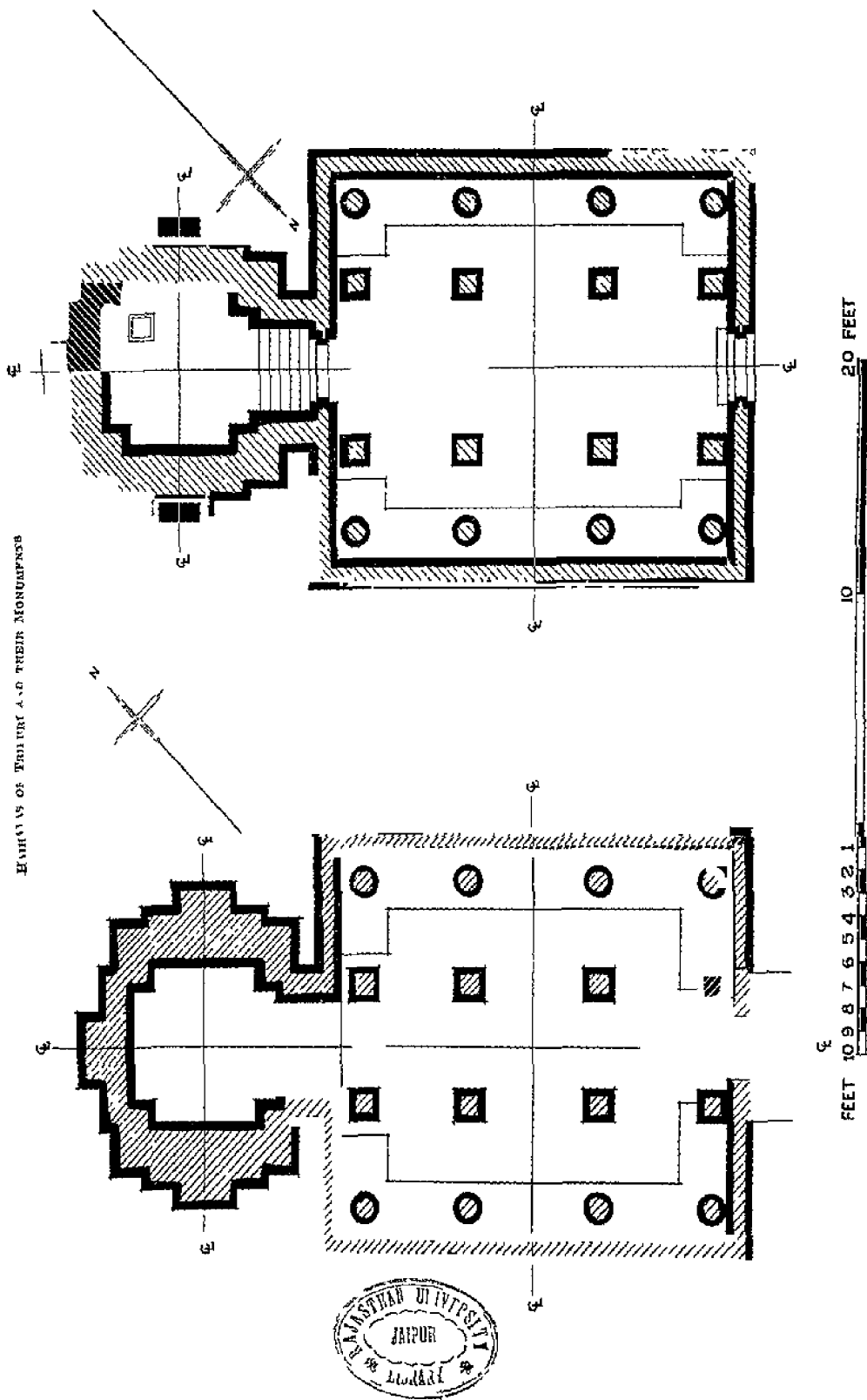
13) PLAN OF THE TRIPLE SHRUED TEMPLE OF KARUNA AT AMARAKANTAK (REWA STATE)



(14) PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF VATESVARA SIVA AT SOHAGPUR (REWA STATE)

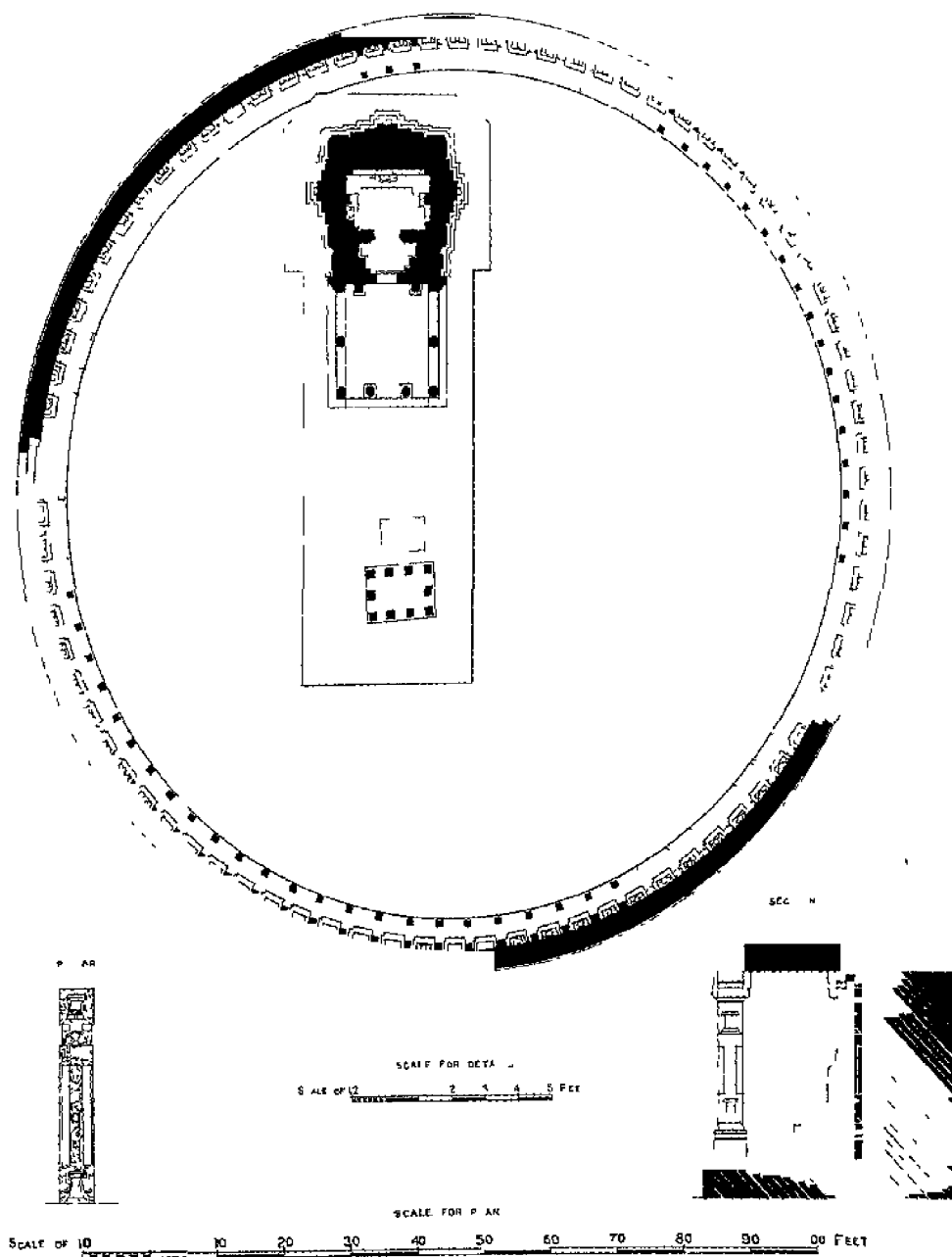








## HAHAYAS OF TRIPURI AND THEIR MONUMENTS.



PLAN OF THE CIRCULAR TEMPLE AND TEMPLE OF GAUR SANKARA AT BHERAGHAT



